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November 19–25, 1991

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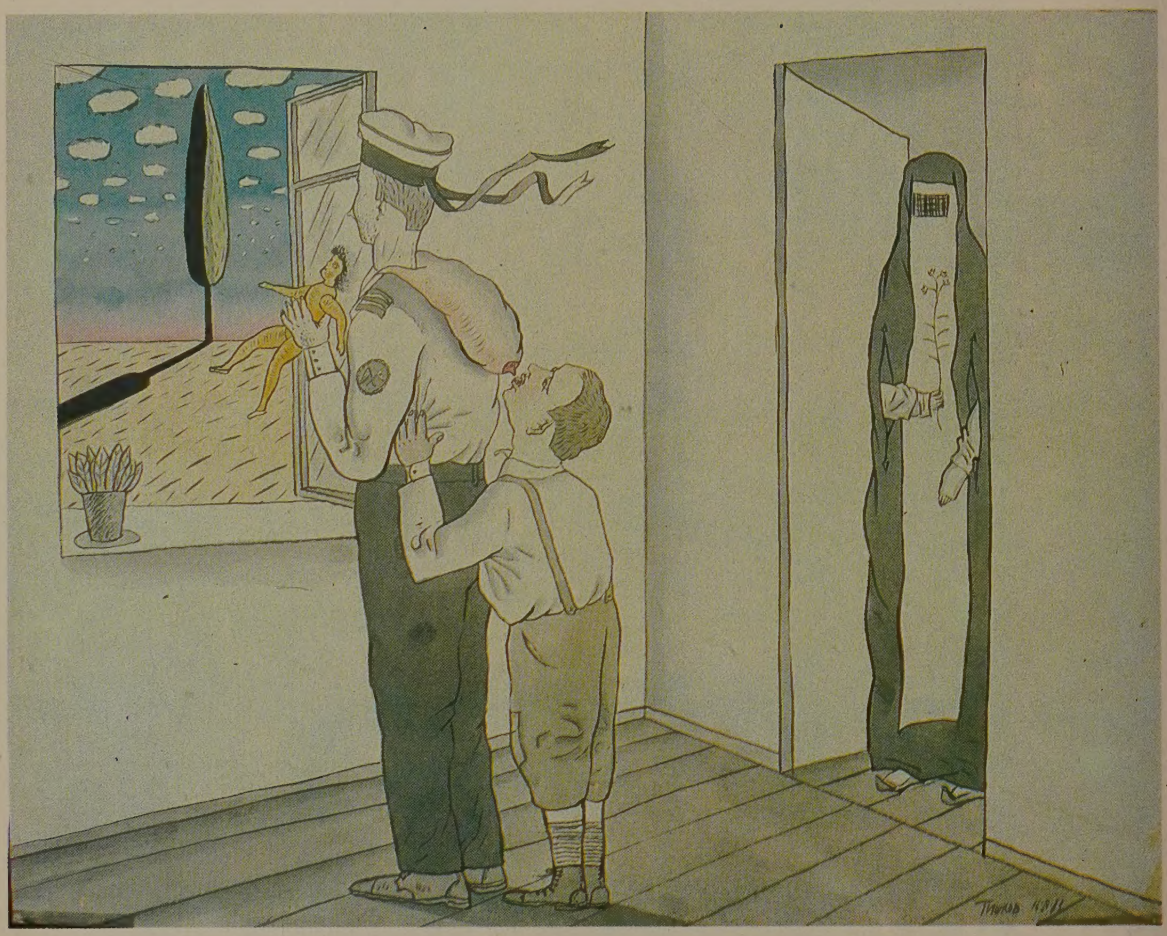

LEONID TISHKOV

A SOVIET WEEKLY

NEW TIMES

No. 46, 1991
Founded 1945

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From our mailbag

■ I am very surprised that such a popular and respectable magazine as *New Times* placed on the front cover of its issue No. 39/91 a photograph of laughing Gorbachev. Why is the USSR President laughing? Maybe because our people cannot buy even essential goods and forget about their human dignity struggling in a long queue for a bottle of vodka. How can people laugh when they know now how CPSU leaders threw away millions of rubles as an economic aid to Cuba and Afghanistan, while Soviet pensioners and war veterans have been and are now leading a beggarly life lining up for a free hot meal. I think that only hatred for their own people can account for the fact that party leaders robbed them in order to provide help to those who were in no greater need of it.

Igor Rybakov,
war and labour veteran
Leningrad Region, USSR

■ Not long ago my attention was caught by a front cover of *New Times* (No. 39, 1991) displayed at a newsstand. The man looking at me from the cover was heartily laughing. I deeply respect Mikhail Gorbachev, and closely follow his activities. Looking at his smiling face, I was sure that the magazine would abound in all kinds of charges and accusations brought against him. But I was mistaken. Having read the magazine, I even decided to subscribe to it. I liked everything I read there. All the articles have been written sincerely and without malice.

I have always admired Mikhail Gorbachev's courage and staunchness. He is also a highly cultured man, and the only truly humane person in the world. Unfortunately, many in this country cannot – and, what is worse, do not want to – understand this. I am sure that cruel and heartless people would never be happy.

But I truly cannot understand why your art designers have

Let's forget Samurais

■ Recently Japan has offered people living on the Kuril Islands visaless and gratuitous trips to Japan in exchange for similar visits by the Japanese to the Kuril Islands. One cannot but be impressed by Japan's generosity. But, at the same time, it is very distressing that Japan can afford this rather costly project and we in this country cannot.

The poverty our country has found itself in is really humiliating. But it seems to me that the Kuril residents simply do not want to part with their present life. Why don't they try to meet the Japanese halfway in order to resolve the existing territorial dispute between the two countries? There are at least several options for settling the dispute, for example, the joint development of the islands, the establishment of joint ventures, and joint habitation, among others.

I cannot understand the people who do not see the advantages of the offer and who do not take the opportunity to get rid of their poverty. Soviet people's minds are imbued with quite definite stereotypes of Samurais, the stereotypes hammered into their heads by ideological propaganda. I mean those Samurais who committed harakiri, or tied themselves to machine guns or torpedoes. We in this country also had our own "kamikazes" – Alexander Matrosov, Nikolai Gastello, Victor Talalikhin – who sacrificed their lives to destroy the enemy. We called all those men heroes, though in fact they committed suicide. When Japanese Samurais committed suicide to defend their honour we could not understand that for the above-mentioned stereotype had been drummed into our heads since World War II. It seems to me that the population of the Kuril Islands is still under the impression that everything associated with Samurais is mean, treacherous and vicious.

The Kuril residents are also afraid that they will have to move to some other place. But let us recall September-October 1945 – the time when our people were driven to settle on the Kuril Islands. I was a boy at the time and went to a school situated not far from the railway. I saw numerous trains carrying men, women and children driven away from the territories formerly occupied by Germans. No one knows what those people had done to deserve such an awful lot. The same fate awaited many prisoners of war and deported peoples. What are they afraid of now? Is it the fear of leaving their places once again?

Negligence and irresponsibility have always been Russia's traditional characteristics, for which there will be no place, once the Japanese start to invest in the economic development of the islands. Why is the Japanese nation so prosperous and wealthy? Because the Japanese can work. We also should learn how to work well. But our people got used to living in poverty for so many years that they are ready to leave things as they are rather than to cohabit with the Japanese in one socium.

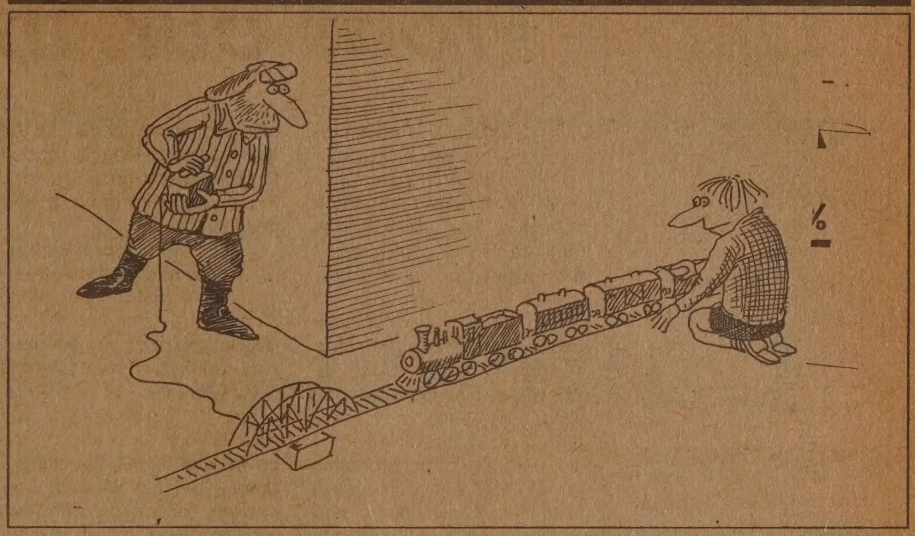
The Japanese, having realized that there could be no easy solution to the problem, decided to meet our people halfway and acquaint the Kuril residents with the Japanese way of life, thus making it easier for them to overcome their prejudices. The Japanese try to convince our people that the change in the Kuril Islands' status would naturally lead to radical changes in their ways of life as well. At long last we will also be well off and become an open society, the mere thought of which was forbidden by our communist morality. Our people found themselves living in the country which had been turned into numerous barracks and even concentration camps, while the rest of the world, came to be more and more open making ever new strides towards progress. So let us also enter this happy world.

Victor Gubarev,
Cand. Sc. (Philosophy)
Yaroslavl, USSR

Dr Fuchs gives a bit of advice to Raisa Gorbacheva

We got used to living in poverty, and don't want any other life

Kazan is still unshakably loyal to Lenin



Drawing by Alexander Zudin

chosen that laughing photograph of Gorbachev? You should reprimand them.

Anna Pratsyuk
Kharkov, USSR

■ I very much appreciate all the secret information you publish. But upon reading about Raisa Gorbacheva's illness in a Western publication, I decided to write to you. The thing is that the temporary paralysis of one side of the body can be caused even by the incompetent work of a dental mechanic.

I hope I did give you a bit of useful advice.

Dr Werner Fuchs
Vienna, Austria

■ I have always been a regular reader of *New Times*, but I cannot afford to subscribe to it any more due to my small pension. I am only 28 years old, but I am an invalid. What would you advise me to do?

Irina Vorobyova
Donetsk Region, USSR

From the Editors: Dear Irina, You will remain our reader in the next year as well. The annual subscription costs have been paid by *New Times*.

■ In Yakov Borovoi's article "The Jewish dilemma" published in your issue No. 41, 1991, there are a number of inaccuracies as regards my report delivered at the September meeting dedicated to Soviet Jews' position in society. The meeting was held within the framework of the Moscow CSCE Conference on the Human Dimension.

The opinion poll conducted in ten Union republics in October 1990 in order to reveal people's attitude towards Jews was carried out not by the Vaad (the Confederation of Jewish Organizations and Communities), as the author presumes, but by the All-Union Centre for the Study of Public Opinion, whose sponsor is The American Jewish Committee.

Also incorrect is the cited share of the pollees whose attitude to Jews is, to some extent or other, negative. According to the above-mentioned Centre's findings which I used in my report, people who have no love for Jews constitute not two thirds, but two fifths.

And one more inaccuracy regards possible pogroms of Jews. In my report I mentioned the results of the poll held in January 1991 by the Jewish Research Centre among the delegates of the second congress of the Vaad, of whom 39 per cent said that they feared pogroms might begin at any time. So this is the opinion not of all Soviet Jews, but only of some leaders of various Jewish organizations and communities. However, this does not make the problem less serious and alarming.

Prof. Vladimir Shapiro,
President of the Jewish Research Centre, Soviet Sociological Association under the USSR Academy of Sciences
Moscow, USSR
Compiled by
Tatiana Chernova

An island of communism

■ If some Tatarstan functionary dares remove a portrait of Lenin from his office, he is sure to face a political scandal. And this at a time when Lenin's teaching has discredited itself and the embalmed body of Lenin is to be buried as soon possible at a cemetery. Why then is Tatarstan so pro-communist as compared with any other region of Russia?

As is known, the trouble-maker Volodya Ulyanov studied at Kazan University for two months, and his grandfather's family estate was not far from Kazan. Bearing this in mind local party leaders had been drumming it into the heads of Tatar people for 74 years that their devotion to Lenin's teaching should be greater than, say, that of people living in Odessa or Chelyabinsk. It's not surprising then that local security bodies were much busier than similar bodies in other parts of the USSR. The whole world knows the notorious Kazan "special lunatic asylum," where the best representatives of our intelligentsia, fed up with Marxist-Leninist ideology, have been "treated." Even during *perestroika* politically unreliable people were put in the hospital. One such patient was R.Zigannurov, a disgraced police captain, who was forced to take drugs and under whose very eyes other patients had been beaten up. It was by mere chance that Zigannurov, after a long hunger strike, managed to escape the mental hospital...

The building of the local KGB branch gives the Kazan residents the creeps whenever they pass it, while heart-sufferers prefer to keep away from the place.

The policy followed by Tatar Communists as regards religious affairs also helped communist ideology gain the upper hand in the region. During the *perestroika* years Communists managed to win local clergy over to their side by allowing them to build new churches and mosques. In addition, a number of churches previously taken away from the believers were returned to them. I would call such tactics a "rope effect" method frequently used in lunatic asylums. A patient, tightly tied to his bed with a rope, tries at first to claim his rights. But after a while, dead tired of painful ropes, he starts to implore his tormentors to loosen the strings. Once the ropes are loosened, he is ready to lick his tormentors' boots in gratitude. Much the same methods have been used by Tatar Communists in their relationship with the believers. While people thanked the Communists who yeilded to their wishes, the latter worked hard towards achieving their own aims: at present, the Tatarstan Council of Ministers wholly conists of Communists, the parliament is 80 percent Communist, and the former first secretary of the Tatar regional party committee has become the first President of Tatarstan.

As is known, the August putsch was carried out by high-ranking partocrats and it is not surprising that Tatarstan's Cabinet of Ministers, wholly consisting of Communists, supported it. According to mass media reports, Revo Idiatullin, the first secretary of the republican party committee, actually pledged his allegiance to the State Emergency Committee at the Presidential Council's enlarged meeting held on August 20.

The "island of communism" will become an "island of democracy" provided Tatarstan's people become aware of the diabolical nature of partocrats. It is very dangerous to associate with the devil for he is sure to play a trick on you.

Lukman Zakirov
Kazan, Tatarstan

EMERGENCY

A second Caucasian war?

Alexander Sokolov

The war of nerves between the leaders of Russia and Checheno-Ingushetia continues. The Chechen leadership has dissolved the Supreme Soviet, declared gazavat (holy war) against Russia, and started forming the National Guard. On the other side, the Russian leaders are making clumsy attempts to introduce a state of emergency only adding fuel to the fires...

The history of relations between Caucasian mountaineers and their neighbours in the north is basically a history of wars. Northern neighbours changed, but the desire to conquer the Caucasus remained. Russia was the last on the list of nations that conquered the Caucasus.

A generation-long resistance of the mountaineers to the advance of the tsarist troops did not end with the final supression of the mountaineers'. The Tsar had to preserve the traditional liberty and way of life of the conquered people and to reject the idea of mandatory call-up of Chechens and Ingushes – Vaynakhs as they call themselves.

During the Civil War in this country the mountain peoples of the Northern Caucasus allied themselves with the revolutionary forces. However, the Soviet administration which replaced the tsarist authorities started actively interfering in the affairs of the local tribes and educating them in the spirit of communism. A massive antireligious campaign and collectivization drive were started in the early 1930s only to meet with stiff resistance on the part of the local population. Uprisings and guerrilla fighting continued for a long time and very often people who had fought in the Red Army during the Civil War became commanders of rebel groups.

During the Great Patriotic War Chechens and Ingushes were regarded as unreliable, and those of them who had been called up to the Red Army where sent home. Although the Germans never made it to the Chechen lands, a rebel army was already on stand-by alert ready to start fighting the Red Army.

On February 23, 1944, Stalin issued the order on deportation of the Chechen and Ingush peoples to Central Asia and Kazakhstan. After Stalin's death, Nikita Khruschev returned the repressed Caucasian peoples to their previous home. The return touched off a wave of violence and killings. People who occupied the abandoned homes or used the property the deportees had left behind were the first victims. This caused massive unrest among the

A meeting in Grozny: here to stay

Russian population and angry mobs even surrounded the building of the regional CPSU committee. However, this can hardly be seen as the reason for the current hostility against all non-Vaynakhs. Strange as it may seem, in Grozny, the administrative centre of Checheno-Ingushetia where tens of thousands of Jews live, anti-semitic sentiments exist parallelly with gratitude to the Jews who refused to take advantage of the local people's plight. They say that the Grozny rabbi even issued a special statement banning Jews from taking part in looting the deportees' property.

The falsity of the official ideology which had become evident by that time resulted in devaluation of all European values. The system of higher education was ruined and turned into a market place where a university diploma could be acquired for money or through connections. Corruption flourished and cushy jobs in the Soviet and Party apparat, industry, agriculture and, naturally, law-enforcement bodies, were all but sold to the highest bidder. The petrochemical industry, which was controlled directly from Moscow, remained practically the only sphere where one's skills and knowledge had any bearing on one's career.

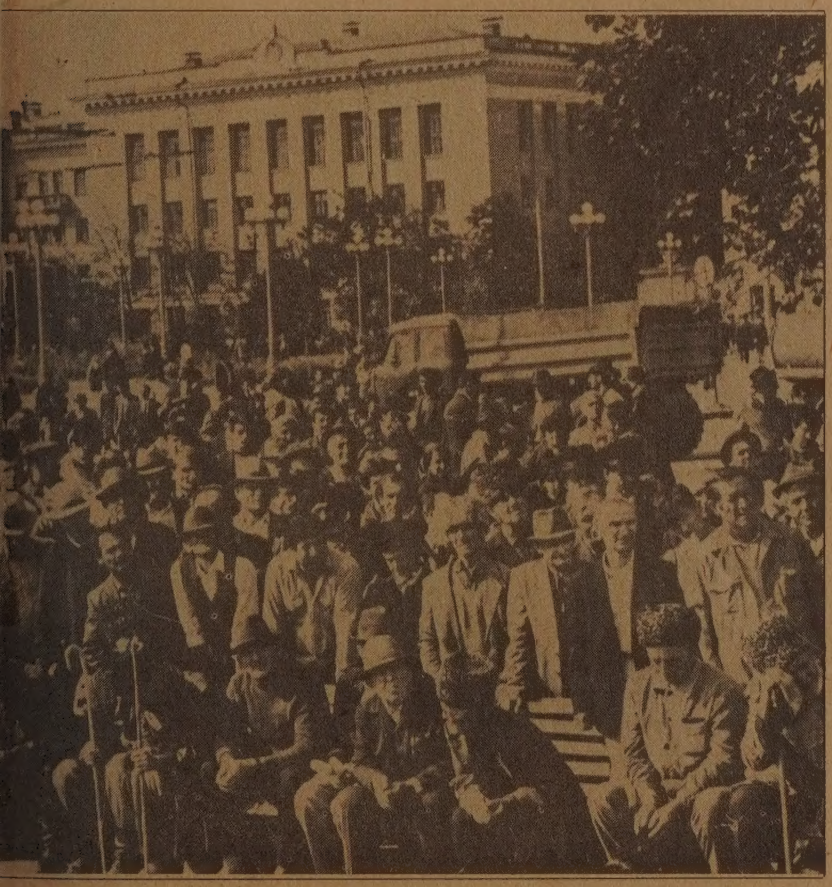
As a result a closed and monolithic stratum of the local Party apparatchiks and national intelligentsia was formed. Its existence served as proof of "successes of the Leninist nationalities policy" and "the flourishing of nations in the conditions of socialist construction," thus making Moscow convinced that the power in the region was stable. It was widely known but almost never mentioned that the brightly decorated facade concealed an integrated system of corruption which kept its own people in poverty. The only support an ordinary Vaynakh can count on comes from his clan, known as teyb. The teyb will always help its members in times of trouble or when it is necessary to launch a new enterprise. The clan ties which entangle the whole of society used to provide for societal stability, but later started to result in the phasing out of ethnic minorities – Russians, Jews and Armenians from the main spheres of life in Checheno-Ingushetia. At the same time tens of thousands of Chechens and Ingushes who did not find their niche in the republic with its fastly growing population also found themselves out in the cold. The number of unemployed people soared to 200,000.

New bourgeoisie

Perestroika, which came as the final stage of the system's decay all over the country, also shook the positions of the local nomenklatura in Grozny. On the other hand, private enterprise, which had initially been in conflict with the law and the bureaucracy and needed protection, received unexpected assistance from the Chechen diaspora which preserved stable teyb ties. In a couple of years a powerful stratum of national bourgeoisie was formed, which transcended the control of the traditional power structures and preserved its ties with the Chechen population. Carefully avoiding conflicts with the clerics and centuries-old traditions, using every opportunity to stress their loyalty to Islam and the legacy of the Chechen national hero, Shamil, this stratum came to lead the new movement formed on the basis of the old separatist sentiments and oriented towards national liberation.

By opposing itself to the local nomenklatura, the bourgeoisie is struggling for its own survival and liberation, for the destruction of the old system of relations. By demanding that newly appointed officials take an oath on the Koran in the presence of numerous witnesses, the bourgeoisie hopes that it will be possible to try future bribe-takers by the laws of Sharia, as infidels who had desecrated the holy book. The national intelligentsia which has until recently been an obedient servant of the Communist leadership is not trusted by the bourgeoisie, and few people in Grozny have doubts as to what local university diplomas are worth. It is not without reason that Russian educators insist that if Russian teachers and lecturers emigrate from Checheno-Ingushetia, the European system of education will die in the next ten to fifteen years. The new Chechen business community strives to turn their land into a zone where ideas of equality and other socialist prejudices will simply not exist.

These people who make up the Executive Committee of the National Congress of the Chechen People have become a leading political force in what is now known as the Chechen Republic. Their leader, Air Force General Dzhokhar Dudayev, returned from the Baltics to his home land to join the political struggle. His ascension to the the post of the NCCP leader was assisted by his speech before the delegates of the Cechen congress and the legend that while serving in the Baltics he refused to quell national liberation movements there. It is not known what the general thinks about this legend himself, but it is a fact that people in Tartu, Estonia, have spoken favourably of him.



Dudayev's best "assistant"

Among his followers Dudayev enjoys the reputation of an absolutely honest man, but his radical decisions and readiness for confrontation scare off many of those who

The general-turned-president

The figure of Dzhokhar Dudayev evokes different feelings among his compatriots, including complete rejection among the non-Chechen population of the republic. Dzhokhar Dudayev was born in 1944 when the Chechens were deported from their native lands by Stalin's orders. He spent 13 years in exile and returned to the Chechen lands in 1957 after the 20th CPSU Congress at which Khruschev blasted Stalin's personality cult. He studied at an aviation school and Air Force academy, served in the USSR and abroad and was awarded Soviet and foreign decorations. In November of 1990 General Dudayev came to head the Executive Committee of the National Congress of the Chechen People and retired from active service in May of 1991. The Chechen leader has also earned some international recognition. In August of 1991 Soviet authorities refused to let him attend the conference of the Unrepresented Nations and Peopes Organization in The Hague. Shortly after that he was informed that The Hague conference elected him a member of the board of the organization which includes peoples from 26 countries.

could become his allies. Among the general's gravest mistakes one can recall the NCCP Presidium's decision to initiate the call-up of "all male persons of the age of 15 to 55" into the national militia and to blockade the TV and radio centre. Actually, these mistakes were later corrected to some extent – the call-up was stopped and the blockade of the TV and radio centre was lifted for some time. Nonetheless, the conference of the Green Movement of local environmentalists, which had been the first to form a militia unit – the nucleus of the future National Guard, has decided to recall its members from the National Guard and even to expel those who refuse to obey.

Dudayev is being criticized from the other side as well. According to the Chairman of the NCCP Defence Committee, Chairman of the Party of the Islamic Way Beslan Gantimirov, his party could not be content with the returns of the parliamentary elections, although it recognized General Dudayev as a figure promoting national consolidation. The Party of the Islamic Way, however, is now prepared to adopt the platform of the international Muslim Brotherhood and oppose the president and other bodies of power.

There is only one man who unwillingly strengthens the authority of General Dudayev – Vice-President of Russia Alexander Rutskoi.

Nothing consolidated the Chechen nation more than Rutskoi's hasty arrival in Grozny, talks with Dudayev, and threats to resolve the conflict by forceful means. The failure of the October 27 elections when less than fifty percent of the voters went to the polls (official but less reliable sources insist that 80 percent of the voters took part in the elections), the aggravating frictions with the Ingushes, the growing activeness of the Russian population, which preferred not to interfere with political affairs after the August events and is now getting rid of its traditional neutrality, are the characteristic features of today's political situation in the republic.

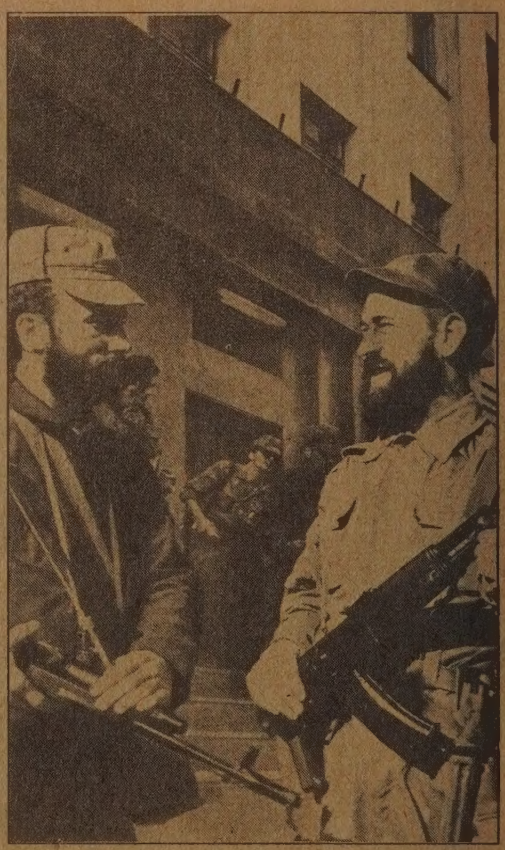
Many of the Dudayev entourage wish to help the general preserve his image, and only a fresh influx of volunteers to the National Guard can let the general maintain control over these armed groups.

A large group of Kistins – Georgia-based Chechens – headed by the deputy Prefect of the Akhmet Region of Georgia, Mate Tsikhesashvili, is now in Checheno-Ingushetia. The friendship with Georgia, however, does not prevent the new Chechen regime from receiving assistance from Abkhazia. Very probably, young men from Georgia and Abkhazia who were enemies only recently are now getting ready to jointly solve the problems of other peoples.

The diaspora may appear on the scene

There is one more interesting aspect connected with the fate of mountain peoples deported by Russia to Turkey during the Caucasian wars. The condition of ethnic minorities, which Turkey has until recently refused to recognize, continues to be horrible. According to some calculations about 400,000 Abkhazians, as many Adygs, 300,000 Kabardins and 50,000 Chechens and Ingushes are currently living in Turkey. The absence of national schools and theatres and the existence of laws making the use of minority tongues a criminal offence cannot but tempt young people to return to their native lands. They are ready to make any sacrifice to liberate their lands they have never seen, so are 50,000 Vaynakhs living in Jordan, Syria and Iraq. Economic assistance may also come from about 30,000 Vaynakhs making up the European diaspora.

However, the first attempt to galvanize the nationalist movement coincided with the emergence of the national bourgeoisie. The credit for this is, ironically, due to the CPSU Central Committee planners who appointed Chechen Zavgayev first secretary of the regional CPSU committee in Grozny. Zavgayev's attempts at de-Russification were so harmful politically and morally that, on the one hand, they did not earn him the support of the Chechen population, and on the other hand, they facilitated the outflow of the Russian-speaking population. A greater contribution was made by local nationalists, including the authors of the slogans that appeared at massive rallies last spring: "Russians, don't go! We need slaves



National Guardsmen outside the occupied KGB headquarters

and prostitutes!" "Russians, Armenians and Jews – out!"

According to the Ataman of the Grozny Cossacks, "the wave of refugees swelled to the limit after this spring's events in the Sunzha district. People can see that the assassins of Victor Tipaylov and Ataman Podkolzin have not been brought to court yet, while the perpetrators of a pogrom at the village of Troitskaya are still at large."

This situation, which could have been easily resolved by timely press and public srutiny, conceals another much more serious reason which requires the interference of the traditional institutions of Chechen society.

This reason is the preservation of the old institutions – the teyb structures under which a Chechen who has robbed his Chechen neighbour faces imminent punishment executed by the teyb of the victim, while non-Chechen neighbours are not protected by the teyb structures and the law of the mountaineers does not make violence vis-à-vis aliens an offence. Moreover, the perpetrator may even enjoy the protection of his teyb and sometimes threatens his opponents with the use of such protection. As long as traditions do not protect aliens from possible violence, reasons for instability and criminal aggression in society will remain. Threatened with beatings-up and killings, some of the refugees do not only have to pay ransom to racketeers, but also sell the houses they leave behind to the blackmailers. Crimes often remain unregistered and uninvestigated, and criminals continue to live happily being sure of impunity.

However, it is not only the criminals who tried to cash in on the plight of other people. Customs posts were established on roads leading out of Checheno-Ingushetia at which customs officers extorted thousands of rubles as "customs dues" from outgoing refugees. (It is interesting to note that General Dudayev abolished the customs immediately after his coming to power.)

According to a spokesman of the Grozny Cossacks, most Armenians, one third of Russians and Jews have already left the city. The total number of people forced to emigrate from the republic has exceeded 100,000.

Thus, all prerequisites for an ethnic conflict are there. One of the possible sides already possesses armed groups and has been adequately indoctrinated. However, its leaders, calling for the solution of problems of power and social system in the new republic, have so far been able to contain it. The other side has an army of thousands of refugees and dozens of appeals and calls to draw public attention to the looming danger. This danger intensifies with the Russian leadership's resolute stance that may provoke clashes and violence. When the teyb relations, including the vendetta traditions, prevail in society, Chechen retaliation to any forceful measures on the part of Russia will be unpredictable. Negotiations must begin as soon as possible and recognition of Chechen sovereignty must become one of the main conditions for such negotiations. One thing is evident: as long as Russians constitute a significant segment of the local population and the republican economy continues to run on subsidies from the centre, the influence of Russia will remain considerable. No complete secession of the Chechen Republic from Russia is possible, because it is fraught with unending territorial disputes with the Ingushes who now populate border regions that formerly were a part of the Chechen autonomy. The withdrawal of the Ingush people from the Russian Federation is totally unprofitable for them because in this case Ingushetia will lose the lands returned to it by Northern Ossetia in keeping with the Russian law on repressed peoples.

It is up to Moscow to decide whether a new Caucasian war would begin...

People have been queueing up to enlist in the National Guard since September

The colonel-turned-vice-president

The main opponent of the Chechen leader in Russia is Vice-President Alexander Rutskoi. An Air Force general, Rutskoi is as energetic as his Chechen colleague. So far, however, the vice-president's efforts to resolve the Chechen conflict have mostly been counterproductive. Rutskoi's military prowess, demonstrated so brilliantly during the putsch, may prove to be not the happiest quality a politician needs in a delicate situation. Politics, especially politics in the East, is a subtle business which needs talented or at least very experienced people. There have already been speculations that the Air Force colonel's political career brought him to parliament and on to the Russian vice-presidency a little bit too quickly. So far Dudayev has been more successful in duelling with Rutskoi, although the Chechen leader has already made a lot of mistakes too.

Who is going to work out Chechen policies of the Russian leadership now that the parliament has voted down President Yeltsin's decree imposing a state of emergency in Checheno-Ingushetia?

Between Muscovy and the Teutons

The Ukrainian national idea is older than the Russian state

Photo by Vladimir Zhirov

A Russian colleague of mine, a journalist, once asked me, "Who invented the idea of Ukrainian independence?" I must confess that the question plunged me into deep embarrassment. The idea of Ukrainian independence was, certainly, invented by the well-known Stepan Bandera, just like the round Earth was invented by no less celebrated Nicolaus Copernicus. And if one retorts that the Earth was, nevertheless, such originally, from the very beginning, it will only remain for me to declare, following Voltaire, that the idea of, the desire and the need for independent, i.e. normal existence was original and innate in the Ukrainian people. Nowadays many are those in this world who learn, to their great surprise, that apart from 50 million French or, say, British there also exist 51 million Ukrainians – an autochthonous nation, i.e. a nation which has never, at least during its entire observable history, abandoned its lands between the San and Don rivers. Well, let us leave aside all territorial discussions and turn to history in order to try to answer the question of how the idea of an independent Ukrainian state has developed and where the Ukraine has come today.

When Moscow satationed its troops in the Ukraine

Whereas the Russian people confidently calculates its history from the times of the Old Kievan State, the Ukrainians must also consider themselves heirs not only of Vladimir the Bright Son, but also to the Rus (not to be confused with Russian which appeared as late as the 14th century) statehood. Now that a pretty large number of copies of Mikhail Grushevsky's *History of the Ukraine-Rus* have at last been published, everyone who would like to study in detail the genuine history of my Motherland has the opportunity to do so. And I will dare familiarize the readers with Gnat Hotkevich's extremely interesting though little known work written in 1917, in the period between the February and October revolution. It is called *Who We Are And What We Want*. As you can see, the topic is quite relevant even today. "This book has been written not for those who know but for those who don't". Thus begins the author his book and he goes on to explain that his purport was to tell the history of the Ukraine in plain words and to explain why we must adhere to the notions of "autonomy" and "republic".

I will remark in passing that Hotkevich derived his concept of autonomy directly from the Greek roots and interpreted it as "own law", or statehood. "And the Ukraine united with Moscow in 1654. The treaty was signed in Pereyaslav. In conformity with the treaty the Ukraine already had its autonomy in

those days, which meant that it had its own laws, court, science, army, finances, its own elected Hetman and colonels, its own elected Metropolitan, bishops and clergy, its own schools, teachers, its own language – everything of its own. And the union with Moscow obliged both sides to come to each other's rescue militarily and financially in case of trouble."

On the whole, the life of the Cossack Democratic republic was regulated by unwritten laws; however, there were also written ones. We read in the Constitution of 1709–1710 – the first one in Europe, by the way:

"The entire Cossack Ukraine, the Right Bank Ukraine, the Left Bank Ukraine and the Zaporozhie – make one Ukrainian Cossack Republic.

"The Ukraine shall be ruled by the Hetman elected by the people; the Hetman shall be assisted by General Advisors from among the Cossack Elders.

"In addition, there shall be instituted the General Council... which shall be convened three times a year.

"The Helman is responsible to the General Council."

This excerpt from the Constitution which was worked out after the treaty with Moscow had been signed throws light on the standard of political thinking of the Ukrainian leaders of those days. Khotkevich goes on to say: "This is what Khmelnitsky intended, this is the treaty he wrote – yet it was far from what came of it... First Moscow sent its governors to every Ukrainian city. Then it brought its army to the Ukraine and stationed its regiments all around, so that there was no room left for us. But the advent of Peter the Great was the end of it all. He used to chop off heads in Moscow and he brought this habit to the Ukraine. Hetman Mazepa tried to rise as the Ukrainians had risen against Poles under Bogdan Khmelnitsky, but he was no Khmelnitsky and failed to lead the entire people – some troops followed him and some didn't – and Peter the Great defeated the Ukrainians. What happened subsequently is terrible to recollect, blood was shed in the Ukraine in quantities enough to fill rivers... The whole of Siberia was paved with our people's bones..."

Thus, "in simple words", does Khotkevich narrate the story of the Ukraine – a century and a half beginning with the Khmelnitsky-headed war for liberation and the Pereyaslav Treaty and up to the time of Catherine the Great. Before long the Zaporozhie Sech – the bullwork of Ukrainian statehood which had existed since before Bogdan Khmelnitsky – was destroyed once and for all. It was destroyed at the order of Tsarina as an expression of gratitude for the assistance the Cossacks had rendered in winning the war with Turkey. The inscription on a gray granite gravestone in front of the Preobrazhenie (Transfiguration) Cathedral of the Solovetsky Monastery states that "Here lies the body of Ataman Pyotr Kalnishevsky who served in once powerful Zaporozhie Sech and who was exiled to this cloister for repentence in 1776 at Her Majesty's Command..." This was how the Ukraine was deprived of an army – the last attribute of statehood – for centuries to come. And some time later – after Valuyev's circular letter which prohibited the use of the Ukrainian language – it finally turned, in the eyes of the entire world, into a southern province of the Russian Empire.

By the end of the 19th century and in the 20th century the still live dream of freedom gave birth to a powerful tide of revival. This was precisely the outset of Ukrainian nationalism as a philosophy and an ideology. The idea of the fully independent Ukrainian state was first clearly formulated and founded by Mikola Mikhnovsky, a lawyer from Kharkov and a political leader, in his famous speech *The Independent Ukraine* made in 1900.

Long before that the classics of Ukrainian literature, Shevchenko and Franko, had prepared the Ukrainian intelligentsia for assimilation of this idea and, evidently, the time had come for a serious perception of the fact that a nation deprived of rights consists of people in similar conditions. Mikhnovsky was followed by Kostomarov and Dontsov, Petlyura, Grushevsky, Vishnichenko, Melnik and a lot of other writers and philosophers.

The custom-made famines

After the February revolution both empires – the Russian and the Austro-Hungarian, its neighbour – began falling to pieces, the Ukraine having been divided between them. There was little good in it, of course, but the circumstance that the Ukrainian-populated Galicia, Transcarpathia and Bucovina were under a less self-imposing protectorate of Austro-Hungary allowed these lands, as we will see further, to preserve not only the language and culture, but also the very spirit of the nation and to later become an extremely powerful source of Revival.

A new attempt to gain independence was made in 1917 – two new states were formed: The West Ukrainian Popular Republic (WUPR) on the territory of former Astro-Hungary, and the Ukrainian Popular Republic (UPR) on the terrritory of the former Russian Empire. In January of 1918, when the Bolshevik government refused to recognize the rights of the Ukraine, the Central Rada (Council) of the UPR declared its full independence from the metropoly. Just a year later – in January of 1919 – both republics signed the Act of Reunion into the unitary Ukrainian state. It's hard to say what role the social idealism of its leaders – historian Mikhail Grushevsky, the first president of the Ukrainian Popular Republic, and writer Vladimir Vinnichenko – played in their inability to hold the power and to defend the country from its revolutionary neighbour, but before long comrade Muravyov's cheery hords flooded the Ukraine, shooting people for a single word in Ukrainian.

The new – Soviet – power didn't worry about trifles like Valuyev's decrees. On the third attempt, which was accompanied by military intervention, Soviet power was finally established on the entire territory of the former UPR. Over was the short period of rather unstable Ukrainian statehood, although it had been recognized by many countries. However, it left its mark. It was the end of the political infancy of its leaders who counted on the Bolsheviks' abondoning the Russian Empire's notorious traditions and believed in the friendly disposition of the world's first workers' and peasants' state and practically dissolved the regular army.

After the fall of the UPR the Soviet Ukraine "prospered" separately while its western part "suffered" under Polish oppression, preserving and developing the old and dearly payed for idea of the integral indivisible and independent state. The Galicians and Bucovinians knew about the terrible and deliberately provoked famines of 1923 and 1933 which cost the Soviet-dominated Ukraine a few million peasant lives, they also knew about the generation of Ukrainian writers, scholars and figures of enlightenment who were referred to as the "shot-down Renaissance" after the 30s.

The Western Ukraine met the Red Army with little joy when Stalin solved the problem of reunion of the Ukrainian people's two parts by means of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact. Since then the flow of the "Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists" sent to both the Soviet and Hitlerite concentration camps, quite conspicuous even before, didn't stop.

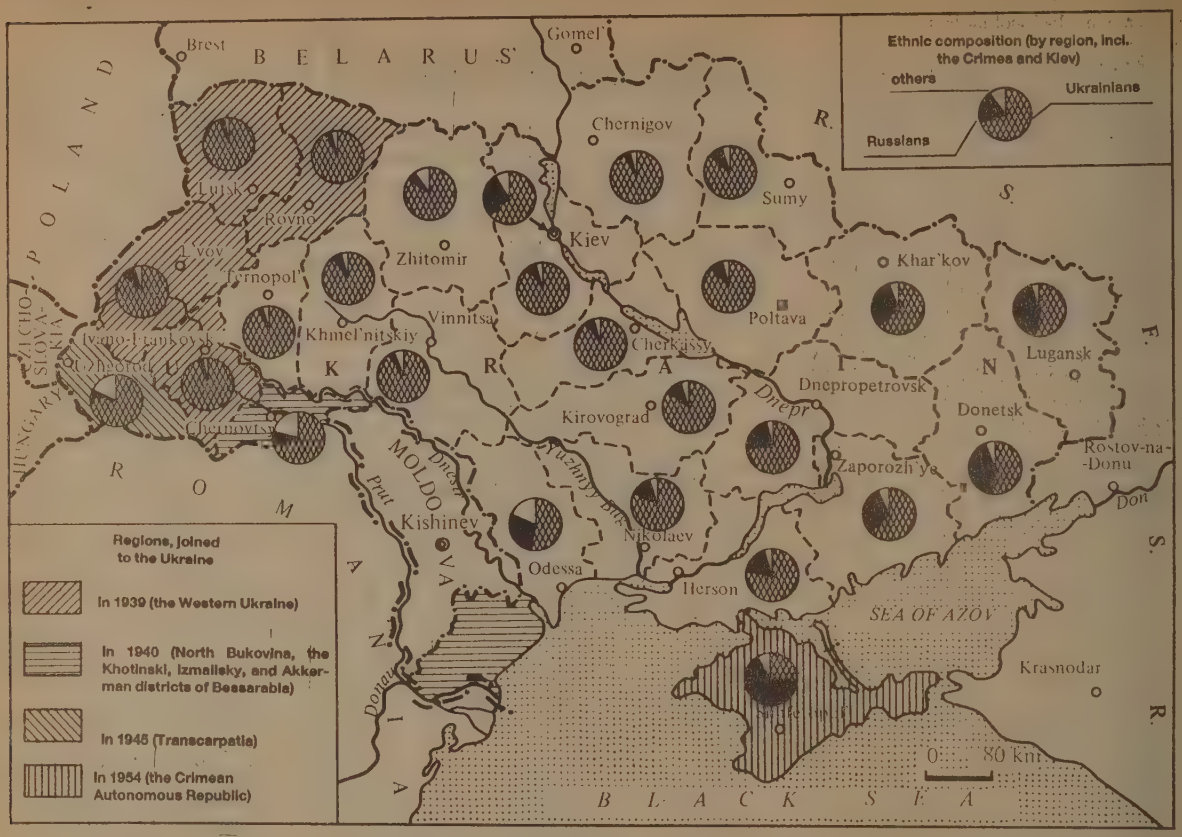
Ukrainian political prisoners

Despite the notoriously popular label which may be rendered as "Banderism," Stepan Bandera, one of the leaders and ideologists of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) did not directly take part in creating armed formations in the Ukraine, since it would have been a somewhat problematic job for a prisoner of a Nazi concentration camp. The Ukrainian Insurrectional Army (UIA), active from 1942 to 1953, was formed in Polesie and in the Volyn region – first for defence against the German terror and later against the Bolsheviks.

The founders of the UIA saw in it the embryo of a regular Ukrainian army. The numerical strength of the insurgent troops was – according to various sources and at various stages – 40 to 100 thousand fighters. It's self-evident that an army like that wouldn't have been able to exist for more than ten years without popular support.

While OUN and UIA fought at their own responsibility and discretion, the very idea of statehood and the path of its attainment was considerably modified. The idea of integral nationalism outlived itself and proved impossible to implement.

However, even after the ideologists of the national liberation struggle in the Ukraine rejected violence and use of force, since 1963 and until recently many political



prisoners in Mordovia, Karaganda and other gloomy places were Ukrainians. Levko Lukyanenko, one of the nominees for presidency of the sovereign Ukraine, was sentenced to capital punishment which was subsequently replaced with 15 years' confinement for an attempt to organize the Labour-Peasant Party whose aim was to create an independent democratic state. And this was during the "thaw" of the '60s... Paradoxically enough, now, in the '90s, Leonid Kravchuk repeats almost literally the "subversive" speeches for which presidential nominee Vyacheslav Chornovil and many others whose name is Legion served their far from symbolic terms in jail ten years ago.

I think that this course of events, as well as the fact that the Ukraine, in spite of its "terrible" nationalism, remains to this day the most calm and peaceful of all former Soviet republics, is due to the evolution and development of the national idea – from primitive and instinctive nationalism to our own national pride and statehood. And is it, after all, so important, who has "invented" it?

Svetlana Ryaboshapka

KIEV

The Ukrainian syndrome

"A special place in the hearts of the Americans belongs to the Ukraine," George Bush said recently. And also in the minds of Washington politicians, which is hardly surprising – in the former Soviet Union the Ukraine occupied the second place in respect to its population, economic potential and so on.

Since the times of Ivan the Terrible and the first Romanovs and to this day nobody has ever denied nor can anyone deny Russia's "special position." But this is precisely what makes its situation different as compared with the other part of the Union. This is why the position of the Ukraine as potentially the most powerful centrifugal force, on the one hand, and as the strongest counterbalance to Russia's dominant role, on the other, is so important for this "other part." The recent events were one more confirmation of this truth: Kiev's hesitance in signing the Treaty of the economic community not only rendered dubious the new sovereign states' economic union, it also considerably narrowed the field of political manoeuvre for other republican leaders, including even Mikhail Gorbachev (this circumstance doesn't seem to be properly understood by the Ukrainian leaders carried away with the struggle against the late imperial Centre).

The speech that Bush made this summer in the Ukrainian parliament in which he warned against secessionist tendencies was prompted by the realization of the Ukraine's special role in the Union's preservation (or disintegration).

But from the time of that fateful week which saw the putsch, its defeat and the first sweet days of victory, Washington began to revise its policy towards the Ukraine. In the opinion of local specialists, general Varennikov's visit to Kiev revived the ghost of the loss of the slightest hope for Ukrainian sovereignty, while the seisure by Russia of the Union power structures in the first days following the victory – whatever the objective or noble reasons for this – only aggravated Kiev's age-long suspicion about the "elder brother."

Kiev's position is understood much better in Washington than in Moscow. Specialists

in Ukrainian affairs are always there in the administration, albeit not in the most prominent positions. They have long ago assimilated certain rather simple truths, which is still in store for many in Russia. (And this is a must, for, regardless of Russia's or the Ukraine's fate, they will remain neighbours.)

One such truth is that the millennium of the two peoples' interlaced history has engendered in Ukrainians not only a lot in common with its great neighbour, but also a great many historical offences, real or imaginary. I speak from experience, for I have spent many years in Kiev occupied by a "great and mighty", cognate, but still foreign language, and other attributes of imperial bondage. (I was born into a Ukrainian or, to resort to the *perestroika* newspeak, a Ukrainian-speaking family.) My fellow-countrymen's emotions are a severe but intelligible reality. Yet there is another reality which I also know and understand well enough – the feelings of Russians into whom it has been rammed for decades and centuries that they can't bring other peoples anything but happiness and who are now accused by these peoples of all mortal sins.

"Please, explain it to your people through your magazine that political squabbles will bring you to economic disaster," Padma Desai, specialist in Soviet economics and professor of Columbia University, implored me. "Your people will face still tougher times, and only by common effort will it be posibble to survive. You will need at least two or three years to remove the economic obstacles and then you can introduce local currency and separate if need be. What is the Ukraine going to sell now? Foodstuffs? But how can it be produced without Russian oil? And energy production? Turning back to coal means a return to the Stone Age.

"Intorduction of one's own currency is important as a psychological measure, it's a symbol of independence," says founder of the research company Multinational Strategies, Stephen Blanc. "However, it is fraught with many dangers. It will take quite a time for the Ukraine, not to mention the Baltics, to find its way to the world market, which means that they will have to join the convertible ruble zone. Theoretically, it might be possible to enter the Deutsche Mark zone, but only in the role of a beggar and running the risk of the national economy being absorbed."

Washington was rather unequivocal in making Kiev understand that the latter couldn't count on Western aid (except, naturally, humanitarian) unless it settled, along with the other republics, the problem of honouring the former Soviet Union's foreign debts and handed over the nuclear weapons deployed on Ukrainian territory under centralized control. The White House is also displeased with the plans for creating the Ukraine's own army.

The Americans will never agree to individual republics' having their own nuclear bombs. They fear the danger of spreading the mass-destruction weapons all over the Eurasian space. For, if the Ukraine becomes a nuclear state, similar claims may be put forward by Poland and, in time, Germany...

Yevgeny Rusakov,
NT own correspondent
NEW YORK

Blackmail

Dear sirs! It is already difficult for me to avoid putting the word "dear" in inverted commas after the appearence of issue No 42 of your magazine with the article *Russia's nuclear burden* by Pavel Bayev.

By pure coincidence or otherwise, even the title of the article is reminiscent of Kipling's well-known theme – "the White Man's Burden", i.e. bringing to savage tribes the light of Civilization. Incidentally, it doesn't seem to be a coincidence, it's the author's position – Russia is "white" while all the rest, and primarily the Ukraine, are "black savages". Hence the thesis according to which Russia must and shall assume the burden of providing nuclear security for the entire world and primarily for her neighbours in the former USSR.

Do you believe that this criticism is too sharp? Then what about the epithets the author used so profusely to characterize the Ukraine? The latter is "the main challenge... to European security" and "a quasi-state" in which reign "internal instability" and "impossiblity to hold its shaky borders."

From the point of view of Ukrainian political analysts these utterances mean that the author – Pavel Bayev – hasn't been in the Ukraine for at least a year – if he has ever been there! And any Ukrainian political leader would consider such articles as downright blackmail designed to arouse in our Western partners suspicion about the sincerity of our leaders' statements, to complicate the process of the Ukraine's joining the world community and thus exert pressure on it and push it in the direction of the "renovated union." At that, the simple idea is evident in the article that the dominant role in this "renovated Union" will belong not to a ghostly "centre" but to the very tangible Russia.

It's quite believable that, by publishing Pavel Bayev's – let's put it bluntly – outright insinuations, the *NT* editorial board had no intention to side with "Russian imperial jingoists", i.e. with those who are ready today to allot to Russia the former "USSR"s functions of the unifier of imperial lands. It is also quite probable that *NT* just has no information about the Ukrainian government's latest declarations and initiatives including the declaration "About the Ukraine's Non-Nuclear Status" made by the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine. Let me quote from it.

"The Ukraine shall conduct the policy of complete destruction of nuclear weapons and its installation components deployed in the territory of the Ukrainian state. It intends to accomplish this in the shortest possible time... with the due guarantee of ecological security."

"...The Ukraine, as one of the successors of the former USSR shall abide by the clauses of the Agreement of 1991 between the USA and the USSR stipulating reduction of strategic offensive arms as concerns the nuclear weapons deployed in its territory..."

"...The Ukraine shall take steps to destroy all other nuclear weapons on its territory and is ready, as the necessity arises, to participate in negotiations with all sides concerned, including the existent multilateral mechanisms of disarmament."

"The Ukraine shall take all required measures to guarantee the physical security of nuclear weapons on its territory during the entire period prior to their full destruction."

"The Ukraine intends to join the Nuclear Arms Non-Proliferation Treaty as a non-nuclear state and conclude the required agreement of guarantees with the IAEA."

I might cite in addition a number of other statements made by Chairman of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Leonid Kravchuk, including those made by him at the UN General Assembly, and those made by Ukrainian Foreign Minister Anatoly Zlenko during negotiations in the USA and Canada and at numerous press-conferences in recent months... But is it really necessary? It's useless to exhort Pavel Bayev who doesn't hear and doesn't want to hear any reasoning, who deems the Ukraine capable of "using the nuclear instruments... as a guarantee of security" and pays no attention to anything which doesn't fit into his scheme...

Arkady Kireyev,
political scientist,
head of the Kiev department of the Ukrainian Information Bureau (USA)
PHILADELPHIA–KIEV

Nuclear heirs

How to divide the Soviet nuclear force and should it be divided at all?

Dmitry Trenin and Vadim Makarenko

The State Council of the USSR, meeting early in November, decided that the Army should remain united. The representatives of all ten republics present at the meeting seem to have backed the proposal. True, the Ukraine's stand is not very definite. There are indications that Kiev is not yet going to renounce the idea of a national army.

The sensible decision of statesmen could be welcomed were it not for one "trifle." All political decisions adopted lately remain on paper. Politics is one thing and reality is another. Statesmen often say one thing in the Kremlin, another in their republics and something quite different abroad.

Divide armed forces or assume control of them?

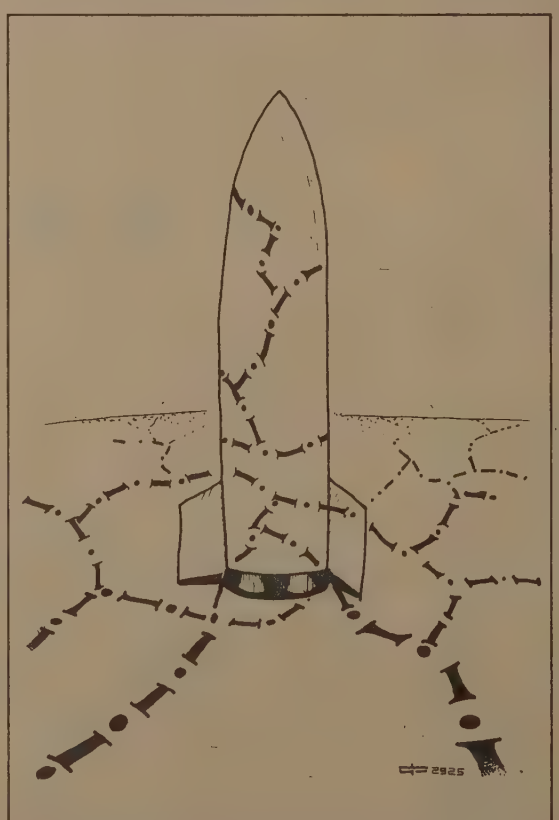
The Ukrainian parliament declared that the republic would take over three military districts (roughly 36 motorized and tank divisions) and a greater part of the Black Sea fleet (20 submarines, one aircraft carrier, seven cruisers, ten destroyers and three dozen other warships). Minsk examines the possibility of assuming control of the Byelorussian military district. The Azerbaijanian authorities lay claim to the military property stationed on the territory of the republic.

Nobody yet knows what will happen when republican emissaries arrive at the gates of nationalized army units with orders from their governments. It is impossible to take possession of a tank division in the same way one might seize a tractor plant, that is, by a decision of the republican parliament. The armed forces have a component – nuclear weapons – which is dangerous to divide, and this danger is evident to almost everyone. If one is to believe the statements of the leaders, both the Ukraine, which wants to raise its own army, and Kazakhstan, which does not want to be a "little brother" to anyone, have agreed to preserve the united strategic nuclear force, provided it is kept under the control of a new, interstate body. True, the Ukraine did not specify whether it will take control of the tactical nuclear weapons stationed on its territory. Nevertheless, the main idea of the leaders of two "nuclear" republics is clear: keep the nuclear forces under their control without dividing them.

What about Russia? The Russian government intends to preserve the nuclear potential as a single whole, but under its control. President Yeltsin declared that the Russian Federation would assume the responsibility for the nuclear potential. Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian parliament, proposed shifting all nuclear weapons to the territory of the Federation.

The Russian Federation should ultimately become the only successor to the Soviet nuclear missile arsenal. The possibility of Union-Russian control is considered for the transitional period. The idea of such double control was recently suggested by Vice-President Rutskoi.

The arguments in favour of this decision accord with the classical principles of political realism. Since there is no way of building a new solid union of republics the maintenance of common military strategic space is also impossible. Hence the Soviet Army will hardly survive the breakup of the Union and within a year or so it will split into national or territorial formations. The prospect of several former Soviet republics having nuclear weapons in their arsenals becomes a reality. Some Russian politicians fear an internally unstable but well armed Ukraine while others see the main danger in the "Islamic bomb" which Kazakhstan is about to gain. In their opinion a nuclear confrontation can be avoided only by preventing it. For this purpose the nuclear weapons must be placed under one, Russian control. It is reliable and safe.



Drawing by S. Fedko

Neighbours do not agree

Is it easy to shift the nuclear weapons to Russian territory? It does not seem to be very complicated. Of the Soviet Union's 17,200 strategic nuclear warheads, about 85 percent are stationed on Russian territory. The fate of the remaining 15 percent (roughly 2,500 warheads) could be decided in the following way.

The mobile missiles (such as RS-12Ms or SS-25s deployed in Byelorussia) shall be moved to the east while the silo-based intercontinental ballistic missiles (the Derazhnya and Pervomaisk bases in the Ukraine, 116 SS-24 and SS-19 mis-

siles; and the Derzhavinsk and Shanghistobeh bases in Kazakhstan – about 100 RS-20 missiles) will be subject to elimination, first of all under the treaty on strategic offensive armaments signed in July of this year. In this case the Russians could count on American support, for RS-20 are none other than heavy SS-18 missiles regarded by the United States as the most destabilizing component of the Soviet nuclear potential.

It is much easier to relocate the carriers of strategic weapons of other types, namely heavy bombers of the Strategic Air Force. Outside Russia, heavy bombers are stationed on one base in the Ukraine and one base in Kazakhstan. It only remains to prepare airfields in Russia for accepting these bombers.

There are no problems with missile-carrying submarines. All their bases (Severomorsk and Polyarny on the Barents Sea coast, Petropavlovsk-Kamchatsky and Vladivostok on the Pacific coast) are situated within the Russian Federation.

It can be added that the plutonium plants (at Kyshtym, Beloyarsk and Dodonovo) are also situated in Russia. The Russian Federation has a nuclar testing ground (Novaya Zemlya) and its own cosmodrome at Plesetsk in the Archangelsk region. Lastly, Moscow, with its control and command centres and other communication facilities, has been and will remain the capital of Russia.

In the opinion of those who advocate the "Russian" solution it will instantly remove many problems. The proliferation of nuclear weapons is checked and tougher control is established over strategic nuclear weapons. By laying the heavy nuclear burden on itself Russia averts a terrible threat from itself, its neighbours and the world.

One could agree with all this provided the former constituent republics recognize the Russian Federation as the only legal successor to the Soviet nuclear weapons.

It seemed quite recently that the former republics of the Union were prepared to accept this possibility. Chernobyl and Semipalatinsk caused an anti-nuclear sentiments among the population in the Ukraine, Byelorussia and Kazakhstan. A short time ago their struggle against the central administration had the removal of Union nuclear presence as one of its aims. Different reasoning prevailed after the breakup of the Union. The Ukrainian premier flatly protests the withdrawal of nuclear weapons from his republic. The President of Kazakhstan does not want one republic or the central government to have complete control of the nuclear weapons.

The republics fear the intention of the Russian leaders to concentrate all nuclear weapons of the USSR in their hands, and this cannot be left out of consideration.

It may happen that the attempt to relocate the Soviet strategic potential to Russia for the sake of preserving its integrity will lead to the emergence of several nuclear states in place of one.

Veto right for all

In the last few years we have tried to look at the USSR through the eyes of our Western neighbours, and we have understood that they had some grounds to be suspicious of the Soviet Union, at least because of its military capability. It is sheer naivety to expect that the other republics will treat new, democratic Russia only with warm sympathy and boundless faith. We seem to have understood the logic of Europeans, Americans and Japanese, and there will be a tragedy if we refuse to understand the logic of the Ukrainians, Byelorussians and Kazakhs.

We certainly believe the noble motives by which the Russian leadership is guided in its nuclear policy. We hope that Russia is not going to use its future nuclear capability as a means for settling territorial disputes with its neighbours or even for defending the rights of the Russian-speaking population outside the Federation.

Nevertheless, profound confidence in our just and noble intentions is not enough to convince others of the same. There is only one condition under which the republics could agree to the shifting of all nuclear weapons to the Russian territory. It is a military and political union between Russia and its neighbours. A certain division of functions and responsibilities could exist within such a union. But even in this case it is doubtful that our partners will refuse to participate in decision-making on nuclear matters. It is a matter of common knowledge that decisions in NATO are made by consensus and that Britain and France have their own nuclear forces, though in the opinion of Europeans American leadership is indisputable and desirable.

It is obvious, however, that far from all neighbours of Russia consider its leadership in a new Union desirable. Since we are talking about the prospect of forming a military and political union of states equal in rights they could decide now to include all nuclear weapons in the united armed forces subordinate to all allies together and to no one separately.

The political, strategic and economic benefits of such a decision are obvious. What about drawbacks? Does the emergence of a collective nuclear power mean the virtual decentralization of control over nuclear forces? This will not happen if each member of the new Union has the right of veto on the use of nuclear weapons. The procedure of using them will be considerably complicated. But it is a much lesser evil than establishing a simpler procedure.

"Collectivization" of the arsenal

There are, of course, problems connected with the nuclear non-profileration treaty and other international agreements in the nuclear sphere to which the Soviet Union is a party. But these problems must be solved in any case because the USSR does not actually exist any longer. Probably one, though collective, successor is preferable to several pretenders to the legacy. There one indications that our Western partners would welcome the "collectivization" of the USSR's nuclear commitments.

What will happen if Russia goes its way nevertheless? It should be well aware of the consequences. Nuclear weapons are merely a component of the larger system. The Russian leadership must be warned in plenty of time to make a decision on the use of nuclear weapons. It is the task of the early warning system against a missile attack, many installations of which have been built on the periphery of the Soviet territory, the Ukraine and Kazakhstan included. The appearance of holes in the circular defence makes the entire system meaningless. The same is true of anti-aircraft defence. Of the nine radar stations with the phased lattice two are situated in Byelorussia, one in the Western Ukraine, one in Transcaucasia, and one in Kazakhstan. In addition to plants in the Russian Federation, missiles are assembled in Pavlovgrad, Dnepropetrovsky region, and in Dnepropetrovsk itself in the Ukraine. Strategic defence studies are also conducted in Saryshagan, Kazakhstan. It is by no means an exhaustive list.

Today Russia is in an exceptional situation. Its geographical position can be extremely advantageous (allies, friends or reliable partners around it), but it can also become intolerable (hostile neighbours, territorial disputes, ethnic or confessional conflicts). Patience and readiness for compromise should characterize Russian foreign policy at the present stage.

Where are the diamonds?

How the CPSU robbed the nation of its gold

Soviet gold attracts the attention of politicians and businessmen in the Soviet Union and across the world. Moscow is trying to be admitted to the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund as a full-fledged member. Nations that apply for WB and IMF membership must present information about their reserves of hard currency, precious metals and diamonds. This is not an easy task in our case. Today, every Soviet republic is trying to get its own share of the nation's treasures. Of what do these treasures consist? Until very recently this was a heavily guarded secret. By not disclosing the information about its reserves, the Soviet Union demonstrated that its economy was uncivilized. The amount of the US gold reserve is mentioned in any reference book down to the last Troy ounce. This openness protects the gold from being stolen. Whenever the administration has to take some gold from the national reserve the information about the aim of and reasons for this measure is widely published.

The secrecy veiling the Soviet gold reserve has resulted in that reserve being wasted. Who did it?

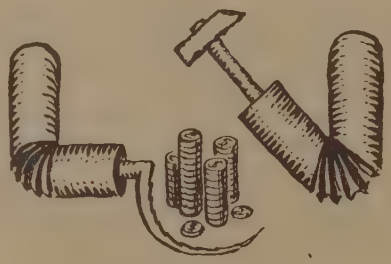
The legendary James Bond once saved US gold billion from being stolen by the monstrous, although mythical villain, Goldfinger, who looked very much like a CPSU boss. Will the Soviet detectives ever be able to trace the lost gold and diamonds of the former empire?

The world was shocked several weeks ago when the Soviet Union meekly announced that its gold reserve amounted to a modest 270 metric tons. Prices shaked on all currency exchanges. Many Soviet leaders seemed suprised, too. This surprise is not genuine though. Not a gramme of gold could have vanished without a trace in the USSR, to say nothing of tons. All mines extracting gold, platinum, diamonds must account for each gramme of their product. Every enterprise which uses precious metals for technological purposes keeps track of each milligramme of such metals it uses.

One of the authors of this article who graduated from the Institute of Non-Ferrous Metals and devoted over 20 years to this branch of industry has a professional knowledge of this problem.

The investigation carried out in the gold-producing branch has revealed that not all precious metals were sent to the state reserves. At the same time, there was a leak of gold and other valuables from the state reserve, the Gokhran. As a result, by 1989 the gold reserve of the Gokhran had declined to 300 metric tons.

No Sherlock Holmes is needed to guess what organization was powerful enough to take gold away from the state reserve without any control: the CPSU. Today, investigators can make an approximate assessment of how much the CPSU cost the country. They can calculate how much gold, diamonds, hard curency and rubles was pumped to foreign Communist parties and movements from the Ministry of Finance, the Gokhran and Glavzoloto. It is obvious that people working at those institutions did not take a milligramme of gold themselves, but they could not fail to disobey the orders coming from the CPSU headquarters at Moscow's Staraya Ploschad. In the conditions of lawelessness such orders were above the law.



Has anyone tried to check the balance of diamonds weighing more than five or ten carats which the Soviet Union has not exported since 1946?

The country is announcing to the world that the production of silver is very limited in the USSR, while many gold-mining plants produce sometimes 4 times as much silver as gold.

The USSR, the world's richest country, has thirty times less gold than the United States. Three fourths of the population of this rich country live below the poverty line by US standards. Robbing the nation, the CPSU was feeding and making life sweet for the cynical leaders of Communist parties throughout the world. We remeber how we were all brainwashed about the glorious successes of the Communist Party of the USA. Working as lecturers for many US universities and companies, we tried to find at least a trace of Communist Party activity, but to no avail. Nobody seemed to have heard about it at all. The Communist Party is not outlawed in the US – after all everybody has the right to be crazy about something.

Assistance to Western Communist parties was coming in various ways. In 1988 we were consulting a Japanese medical firm. As we familiarized ourselves with the firm's work, we were surprised by the privileges it enjoyed in the Soviet Union. We were asked not to wonder: the firm was supporting the Communist Party of Japan.

In case the gold flow stopped Western Communists were duly indignant. During out trip to Belgium in 1989 one Communist leader mistook us for the people in charge and demanded that we recommend the Soviet leadership to conclude contracts profitable for three Belgian companies the names of which he mentioned. What was the economic aspect of the cooperation project? It turned out that the three companies were paying the USSR almost nothing for products which are expensive on the world market and supported the Communist Party of Belgium which exists only in Soviet Communist mythology.

Much money has been invested in new joint ventures and various concerns. During the artifically created scandal about the Russian government's clever project to sell SUR 140 billion, some companies in the West had already been sanctioned by the supreme authorities of the USSR to sell billions of Soviet rubles at a rate of exchange that was lower than the official one.

Naturally, even the most brilliant investigation will not make Russia any richer now – too much has gone with the Communist wind. Very probably, the sum of what has been wasted will exceed the sum that Soviet representatives asked G7 leaders for at the Bangkok meeting in October 1991.

Natalya Daryalova,
writer

Prof. *Vladimir Kvint,*
D. Sc. (Economics)

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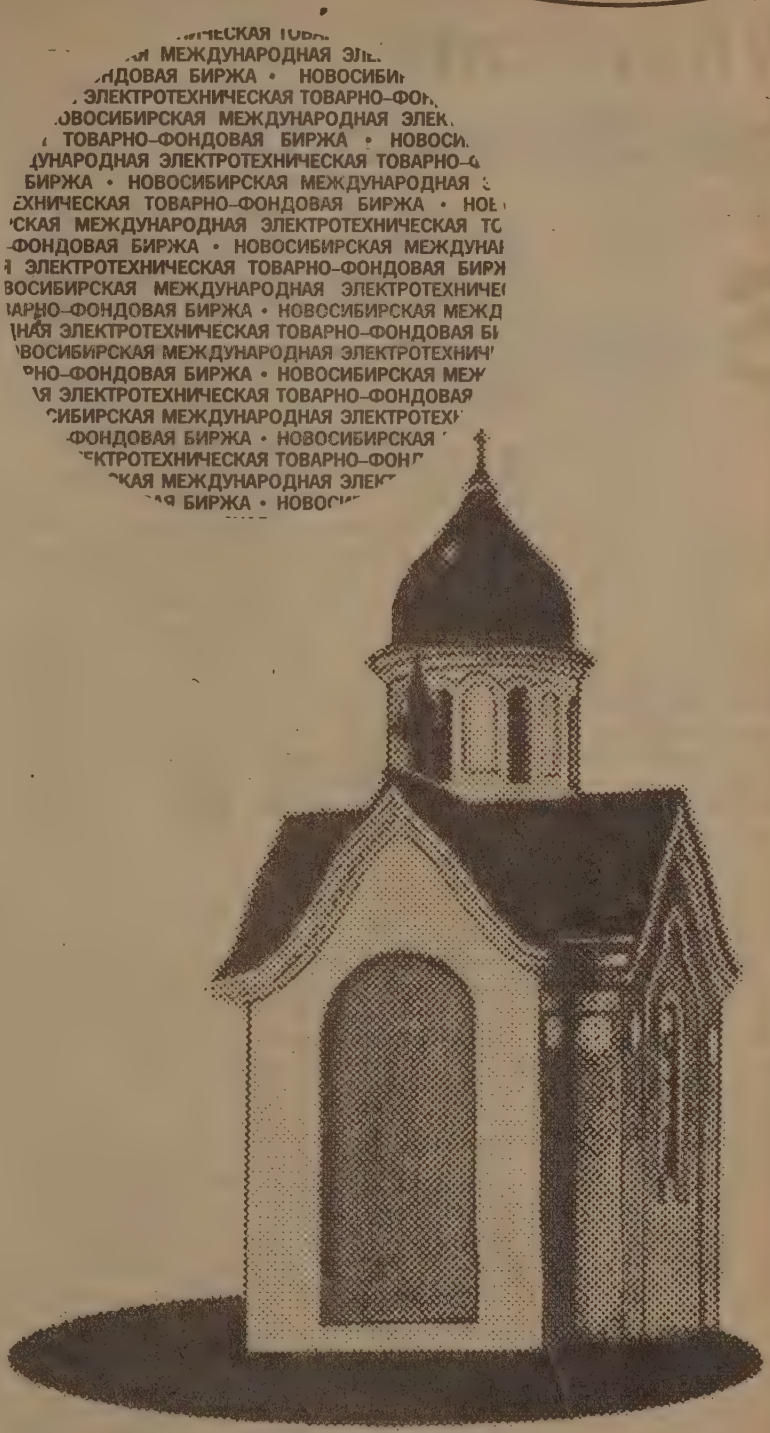

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CENTRAL EUROPE

Demarcation "Shakespeare style"

"Give me the map there!" demanded King Lear, thus initiating a great tragedy. Incidentally, all non-fiction attempts to divide lands "in all fairness" also ended "Shakespeare style" – i.e., tragically

It looks as if this truth has been well assimilated by the uniting European West but remains absolutely incomprehensible in the East. And what about the Centre?

By the beginning of the 20th century, the dynastic Hapsburg empire had become Europe's largest state with a wide spectrum of ethnic, religious, cultural and linguistical diversity. Hungarians and Germans, Czechs and Romanians, Slovaks and Croats, Jews and Slovenes, Ruthenes and Gypsies, Serbs and Ukrainians comprised that cosmopolitan background of the Austro-Hungarian Empire which, in the words of historian Stephen Borsody, disposed of all the prerequisites necessary in order to become a European federation of nations. Frantisek Palacký, a Czech historian and politician of the mid-19th century, said: "If Austria had not existed it should have been invented."

In the historical situation of the time the Hapsburg-united space provided the peoples inhabiting Central Europe with the possibility to coexist on more or less equal terms side by side with such neighbouring giants as Germany and Russia and served as a *sui generis* axis which balanced their geopolitical interests.

"Tell me,
... which of you shall we say
doth love us most?
That we our largest bounty
may extend..."

However, during the period of the formation of Central European nations the archaic political power became an obstacle on the path of natural federalization. The Hapsburgs' conservative Catholic Weltanschauung conflicted with the ideas of nationalism and liberalism. European modernization made a collision between peoples of the Empire inevitable. "The Hapsburgs tried to stop the clock of history. They did their best to oppose the modern process of national formation." In the struggle for power they counterposed aspirations of various peoples. As a result they lost the initiative and were forced to witness the Empire's collapse instead of the maturing programme of a democratic federation.

Trianon... When the name of this Versailles palace is mentioned from which in June 1920 the victors in WWI "carried out" the new map of Europe, even today an oppressing silence reigns in Central Europe during which all "self-determined" nations study each other with concern and suspicion.

As a result of the Trianon surgery, on the territory of Austro-Hungary there appeared not only two countries almost equal in size and population – Austria and Hungary – but also a number of new formations to which about three and a half million ethnic Hungarians and as many Austrians were handed over along with territory. These became citizens of new states – Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Romania: the latter considerably enlarged its territory by annexing the eastern part of Banat, Transylvania and Bessarabia.

Thus in the centre of Europe a number of states suffering a complex of instability of their borders and suspicious of their neighbours were formed on the territory of the former Empire which had proved unable to update its nationalities policy in time. This "peaceful settlement" after WWI sowed the seeds of a conflict which led to WWII. Only Czechoslovakia managed to create a European-type democracy between the two wars. But even this edifice turned out to be short of strength – hardly had the führer annexed the Sudetenland as Slovakia declared its sovereignty and left Czechia to its fate...

The new map of Central Europe drawn in Paris in 1947 was mostly a new edition of the Trianon which only allowed for the interests of the Soviet Union – one more figure among the victors... However, the situation was aggravated by the "iron curtain" dividing the previously unitary Central European space and, incidentally, becoming a demarcation line in approaches to the ethnic issue "here" and "there."

"There," for instance, the province Trentino-Alto Adige, once Austrian land, remained part of

Central and Eastern Europe before and after WWI and the revolution in Russia

Italy. Austria was granted the right by the UN decision to patronize its national minority in Italy until the latter was able to guarantee all its civil rights. Similarly in Austrian Burgenland, inhabited by ethnic Hungarians, Slovenes and Croats, the Landtag closely supervises the observance of the ethnic minorities' rights, organizing optional courses of the mother-tongue for schoolchildren and creating conditions for development of native cultures. However, as representatives of local ethnic intelligentsia insist, the "civilizational care-free attitude" and guarantees of minorities' rights reduce instincts of ethnic self-protection and minimize the social and political functions of ethnic culture, raising it to the common European level. But all this happens in the "comfortable far-off climes" where economic and socio-political welfare helps create a Europe of mutual trust.

But what is there "here"? Here some ethnic groups who had well assimilated Bolshevik principles "self-determinated" at the expense of other groups subject to deportations or assimilations of various degrees as minorities. The motto "One state – one nation" became the majority's goal. According to historian Tibor Hajdu "the enforced or self-suggested silence" concerning the consequences of the Trianon agreement reigned for decades in Hungary. While the autonomous Vojvodina was preseved in Yugoslavia, in Romania the Hungarian autonomy passed away in 1968. Ceausescu's projects of territorial reconstruction aimed at the final undoing of Transylvania's polyethnic culture shocked the entire world. But when it was declared in "prematurely democratized" Hungary that its own national problems were dearer to it than class solidarity with the peoples of Angola and Cambodia, its not so quickly de-Stalinized neighbouring states, stunned in strained expectation, hastily accused the Hungarian Premier, who dared to assume responsibility for the entire Hungarian people, of revisionism...

Professor Eric Hobsbawm stated that in terms of political freedom and human rights the greater part of the former Hapsburg Empire dragged on in much poorer conditions than those of 1913. This was said in 1989, shortly before the general anti-totalitarian explosion in Eastern Europe and the USSR.

"You, to your rights; with boot and such addition as your honours have more than merited"

Well, "the iron curtain" fell and all artificial regional structures staggered. The "westernized" south Slavs, Catholic Slovenes and Croats rushed to their historical centre of gravity – the West – and suddenly discovered that they had too little in common with no less Slavonic but Orthodox Serbs. This problem might have been solved at the negotiating table but totalitarian habits are not so easily eradicated.

For the third time after 1938 and 1968 Slovaks declared their desire for independence from Czechia. The democratic and confessional unity of Transylvanian Hungarians and Romanians puts them on the same side of the barricade in their struggle for human rights in this country and, in the absence of official intergovernmental negotiations on that issue, helps stabilize peace in Transylvania.

Vladimir Meciar's democratic government of Slovakia, during its short time in power, went further than any other government along the path of solving the "Hungarian problem" in Slovakia but failed to remain in office. Negotiations with the new government continue, but at a slower pace.

In the meantime Europe marches towards unity in whose framework, as Hungarians believe, all their problems will be solved. However, for the time being all attempts to solve this age-long problem are made within the regional framework, i.e. the path is resumed at the outset of which the Austro-Hungarian "space" got stuck early this century.

In 1918 Oszkar Jaszi, Minister for Ethnic Problems in Mihaly Karolyi's government, proposed to replace the dualist Austro-Hungarian monarchy with a "Pentarchy" – a federation of five kingdoms of Central and Eastern Europe's largest nations: Hungarian, German or Austrian, Polish, Czech and South Slavonic. The member-states were, according to Jaszi's plan, to be united into a customs union with common defence and foreign policy and a supreme court. The author of the project believed that a political union of that kind could promote solution of the region's economic and ethnic problems and its conversion from a "conflict-threatened zone" into an area of peace and guarantees.

But when this part of Europe was divided, Jaszi wrote that the only way to save the situation was to create a confederation of democratic states – only freedom of trade and national autonomy for all minorities could preserve peace here. He saw the roots of ethnic conflicts in people's desire to attain linguistic and cultural self-realization which would inevitably collide with the ruling circles' desire to prevent it at all costs. Thus national autonomy is the key to solving the problem.

There also existed other plans of federal or confederative organization of "middle" Europe. Tibor Eckhardt suggested the idea of "three pillars" of a Danubian Federal State: Vienna-Prague-Budapest, uniting the territories of Austria, Bohemia and the Carpathian basin. After WWII the Hungarian Social-Democratic Party and the National-Democratic Party came out with the idea of a Danubian confederation fashioned after the Swiss model.

After the war Hungarian emigration nurtured plans of the "third path" for middle Europe, different in its foreign policy, economics and ideology from both its western and eastern neighbours and based on local national traditions. From the "Pentarchy" to a federation inclusive of the Baltics and Scadinavia. Creation of the United States of Europe was envisaged as the final goal of these projects of regional union.

"Methinks I should know..."

So what is this idea of ethnic or ethno-cultural autonomy which has been discussed for decades as a key to the solution of the region's problems by Hungarian philosophers, historians and politicians? No surprise that the idea belongs to the Hungarians, for it's precisely they and not their neighbours who turned out to be the "victim." This is why Hungarians suggest that their neighbours switch to the "new thinking" in politics with regard to ethnic minorities, coupling this approach with the problem of personal and collective human rights. This means not imposing on the region an "improved" network of borders but creating such conditions which would allow a Hungarian to remain a Hungarian, a Slovak to remain a Slovak and a Croat to be a Croat in any part of this region. There is nothing unrealistic in this. In Finland, for instance, where Swedes make up not more than 7 percent of the total population the Swedish language is the second state language. A young Swede's parents know for sure that in any locality of the country their child will be able to study in his mother-tongue, read books, magazines and newspapers, listen to radio broadcasts and do many other things, which testifies to a respectful and considerate attitude towards any person, any individual.

Of course, a path to such an attitude is not going to be easy in the present Central Europe, not to mention the USSR. One encounters on this path complications of the "systems differentiation" in the region, the unequal tempoes of democratization and also the phenomenon which Hungarian thinker and politician Istvan Bibo called small East European states' poverty of spirit – a desire to become a Great Romania, a Great Czechia, a Great Hungary, a Great Poland, a Great Slovakia, a Great Ukraine – the list may be prolonged to fill a few pages now at the expense of the former USSR alone. There is no doubt that at certain historical stages the idea of national revival can consolidate the nation and lead it out of a crisis, but later it may be transformed into a desire to lead others out of a crisis, too, including those who are quite satisfied with their situation. Or let us recall how, as a minority, the Baltics' deputies fought courageously for their rights in the USSR parliament – now they try with no less persistence to deprive their own ethnic minorities of common civil rights. What is this? A transference of a totalitarian model to a limited space, inertia of mentality, incompentence or a banal vindictiveness? But none of these can help enter the European community. The above-mentioned Sweden and Finland won't accept it...

But let's turn back to what once was Austro-Hungary where it was realized that it is not borders that solve ethnic problems but observance of collective and personal human rights. However, so far perfect harmony has been reached only in relations between Austria and Hungary. The position of Hungarians in Vojvodina can be disscussed only if the general situation in Yugoslavia is taken into account. However, it was believed in Hungary before the conflict broke out that, not counting Austria, the 550,000-strong Hungarian minority in Yugoslavia was probably in the best possible situation. Their national autonomy in Yugoslavia was not liquidated.

The "pentagonal" coalition effectively promoted the beginning of a productive cooperation of Hungary's and Czeco-Slovakia's governments with regard to the question of the position and the rights of the Hungarian minority in Slovakia numbering over 750 thousand people, and the 110,000-strong Slovak minority in Hungary.

To provide more or less the same rights for approximately two and a half million of Transylvania's Hungarian population proved a more difficult task because of the complicated political situation in the country. Romania's new leadership still insists that no Hungarian problem exists in the country. Yet as early as the summer of 1989 the still "alternative" at the time Hungarian Democratic Forum and Romanian émigré intelligentsia grouping around the Romanian League for Human Rights stated in their joint declaration that creation of an ethnic and cultural autonomy in Transylvania was an urgent necessity. After the "Christmas Revolution" in Romania this idea was already supported by the cultural and scholarly intelligentsia of both countries. Various parties take part in the negotiations, for example the Romanian Civil Alliance and the Hungarian Union of Young Democrats. The struggle of Transylvanian Hungarians for their rights is supported by the Romanian Antitotalitarian Forum, to mention only one.

"How, in one house, should many people under two commands hold unity?"

In the Soviet polyethnic Transcarpathia it is also a problem to create an ethnic and cultural autonomy capable of providing equal rights and opportunities for the 180,000-strong Hungarian minority, for Ruthenes, Ukrainians, Russians, Romanians, Germans, Slovaks, Gypsies, Jews and Czechs. In the opinion of the authors of the idea of the Transcarpathian autonomy, for an ethno-cultural autonomy not to become a utopia, it must be combined with citizenship-territorial and ethno-territorial administration. Besides, observance of ethnic minorities' rights may be guaranteed by intergovernmental agreements and conventions like, for example, the Communiqué on the principles of cooperation in the domain of securing ethnic minorities' rights between the Hungarian Republic and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic signed this May in Budapest by Geza Jeszenszky, Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, and Anatoly Zlenko, Foreign Minister of the Ukraine.

As such the idea of ethno-cultural autonomy is not a novelty. Middle Europe from the Adriatics to the Baltics, as well as Russia, was always marked for its polyethnic cultural milieu and national tolerance. The question is how to control this milieu and whether to use Western integrational models or the Bolshevik principle of unprincipled self-determination. However, the destinies of both empires are similar in many respects. But is it worthwhile for the disintegrating communist empire to travel anew the former Hapsburg Empire's long path of breaking apart, drawing borders, deporting millions of people to unite subsequently once again?

So should the map be given there?

Lyubov Shishelina

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Landing on schedule

Two years of South African *perestroika*

Once when talking with young functionaires of the ruling National Party, Frederik de Klerk put before them an artless task. A pilot is informed of impending danger. He must choose either to put his passengers and plane at risk to land on time, or he can make a detour and land safely but late. Various answers followed. The South African president said that he would unconditionally choose the second option.

Today it is obvious that such a course has become the political crede of the leader. Even though South Africa has been turned upside down in the past two years, it nevertheless seems to some impatient "passengers" that all is going much too slowly.

When being sworn in two years ago, the new leader of South Africa stated, "All reasonable people in South Africa await reform with anticipation and hope. The leaders of the country bear the responsibility to see to it that the reforms are carried out boldly and deliberately. If we do not succeed in this, chaos will set in, stability will be shaken, and progress will cease. History has set before the country's government the important task of changing the former political course of conflict and confrontation. Only we, the leaders of our people, can do this. Millions of South Africans have placed their hopes in us. The future of South Africa depends on us. We do not have the right to accept defeat."

Some believed the president and followed him, others skeptically declared that many had made such promises that had lasted only as long as the election campaign, which could happen in this case, too. Still others declared war on the president...

Frederik de Klerk began the transformation which led to the liquidation of the system of apartheid, the establishment of democratic institutions, the creation of a non-racial constitution, and the emergence of the country from international isolation. None of his predecessors had had the strength to do this.

The isolation of South Africa was almost over, Roelof Botha told me shortly before leaving for Moscow. We can visit any countries, negotiate with any government, he stressed. We have already acquired a lot of friends all over the world. It is highly valuable for us that people on various continents want to know and understand our history, and, what is more important, want to look into the future together with us. We are prepared to carry out our reforms to the end, to establish order in our home and to join the civilized world as equal partners, the minister stressed.

During the Roelof Botha visit to Moscow the Soviet Union and South Africa restored consular relations severed 35 years ago. A South African commercial office is going to open in St. Petersburg soon *TASS photo*

What does the minister think about the prospects of restoring relations between the USSR and South Africa?

We can become good partners in various international and bilateral affairs, Roelof Botha stressed. The US, Japan and the EC countries have eased sanctions and are prepared to go even further. Even Commonwealth nations have recently spoken up for the lifting of all restrictions on all kinds of business. As for the Soviet Union, it still hesitates to do so, the minister noted.

During his first hundred days in office de Klerk made himself known as a decisive reformer. Shortly after the first group of prisoners had been released, the law on segregated leisure facilities was repealed. After this the president concentrated on curtailing the military – the buttress of apartheid under Pieter Botha. The system of national security, established after a period of unrest among the black population in the mid-1980s, was also abolished. With an excessive number of officers, the system had become the bastion of the white elite, blocking any attempts at transformation. At the same time the president diminished the powers of the National Security Council which, in his opinion, frequently usurped the role of the cabinet of ministers.

Equally promising are the steps taken in the economic sphere. Frederik de Klerk tirelessly speaks of his intention to reduce inflation, holding steady at an annual increase of over 15 percent, and of curbing government spending.

Structural economic changes are forthcoming. Gradually emerging from international isolation, South Africa is ready to invest money abroad and invites foreign investment in its domestic economy. The country has huge economic potential – though it comprises only 6.5 per cent of the total population of Africa, it already produces 40 per cent of the continent's industrial output.

The most impressive result, however, has been the dismantling of apartheid. More than one hundred legislative acts discriminating against people on the basis of skin colour have been repealed, the ban on political parties and groups has been lifted, political prisoners have been let out of torture chambers, and a dialogue has begun with the most influential force of the black community – the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC).

Last year's talks in Pretoria between the government of South Africa and the ANC were successful: the main barriers to beginning negotiations on forming a non-racial democratic South Africa were removed. "From now on there will not be an infiltration of people and weapons into South Africa and military activity will stop accordingly," declared then Nelson Mandela, leader of the ANC. And, thus, a line was drawn over the almost thirty year armed confrontation of the government and the national liberation movements. De Klerk is the first of South Africa's leaders to understand and admit that without the ANC and its strategic ally, the South African Communist Party, the situation in the country would not change.

The government accepted the recommendation of an ad hoc group to release around 1,500 prisoners and return 20 thousand political emigrants to the country. At the same time, the ANC's former predilection for armed stuggle was a serious problem for the president's reforms. In order not to lose the faith of the white community, he had to prove the peaceful intentions of the ANC. Meanwhile, the extreme right forces have become active. From their side accusations are heard that the government was not able to end the "state of war," and the president has received several threats of physical violence. The extreme left, having united to form black terrorist groups, counterpose violent methods to the peaceful solution of urgent problems.

From the left the president is criticized for not having put an end to the conflicts on racial and tribal grounds (bloody fights between the Zulu and Xhosa ethnic groups threaten to spread over the entire country). They criticize him for the rise in unemployment and crime, high death rate, and for the deficiencies in the public health and education systems.

The right, concerned about losing their political positions, demand that the former constitution be retained and oppose general elections. Such personal qualities of the president as self-control and patience seem to them more like indecisiveness and the lack of a complete concept of the future South Africa. Among those who hold this position are many farmers, representatives of the petty and middle bourgeoisie, some workers, and almost all those in the government apparat.

Of course, a turn from repression to tolerance is still far from complete. It is going on, however, and it may turn out to be one of the most impressive develepments now taking place in the south of the continent.

But de Klerk will have to demonstrate aerobatic manoeuvres so that his plane will land on time at the aerodrome called Democracy, even if he does take a detour.

Nikolai Reshetnyak,
our own correspondent

PRETORIA

The rain is already falling...

For the first time in history the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs visits Moscow

Roelof Botha is known throughout the world as the South African Minister of Foreign Affairs, but few people know that he is also a poet. In his opinion, poetry greatly helps him with politics. He says that poetry gives a person a chance to realize one's own significance and uniqueness while helping one discern one's part in the world and appreciate life for what it is with all its currents and laws.

During our talk in Moscow, Botha said that the big problems of a transitional period lie before the Soviet people. "They will have to endure some pain and make some sacrifices. I know this, as we are also going through a transitional period. We in South Africa have already rejected several illusions. For example, the illusion that the country could be divided into several parts, each having its own prime minister, ministers, and other officials from the Africans. This would not have worked. It is impossible to force one's decisions on life — life takes its own course. Now our main goal is to develop democracy. That which we have undertaken is very unpopular with the white community — crime and violence are increasing, while the standard of living is falling. Our political opponents insist that since President de Klerk took office the country has taken a turn for the worse. But this is not true, this is only the superficial side of it. The same is true of your situation. They probably say the same about Gorbachev, that he began *perestroika* and look what happened... But we must persevere, we must reject all that is immoral in politics.

"Recently many scientists, politicians, and diplomats have begun talking about the similar problems which face the two states," Botha continued. "The similarities are definitely great, yet there are differences. In our case it is not necessary to change the economic system, but we do need to develop democracy. We have already changed many laws, now it is necessary to remove prejudice from the minds of people. And this is much harder. But I am sure that the future South Africa will be based on equality, not discrimination. Your problems are more complicated: you must change both your economic and political systems. History shows that carrying out political changes with a weak economy is incredibly difficult. But if people are determined it can be done. And if the Russians unite now and support their leaders, giving them a chance, then success is possible. I have mentioned only the differences, but there are similarities. For this reason I think we should approach each other and extend a helping hand."

Roelof Botha sees this help as the development of cooperation, not just the granting of credits and loans. He noted that Russia is a very rich country and it does not befit her to turn to the world with outstretched hands. "By my calculations," the minister said, "our countries extract 80-90 per cent of the gold, platinum, and other precious metals and important minerals. I would like to emphasize that we must consider our opportunities in this sphere and together conduct the politics of marketing mineral resources. Many people are now drawn to our country — Germans, French. But I ask myself, 'where are the Russians?' Your businessmen are not to be found. I feel that Communism and Marxism are leaving your country just as apartheid is leaving South Africa. Your government is now supporting the very same principles that ours is — private property, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of religion, and an independent judicial system. We agree on all these questions, and there is no reason to put off close cooperation."

By his own admission, in his poems Roelof Botha is melancholy more often than not. But this melancholy is in some way akin to reverie, and sometimes a slight impulse is enough to turn it into a tempestuous flow of energy. The minister told his new friends in Russia that in some parts of South Africa there is no rain for two to three years. This is scorched land. But when the rain finally begins, the land is transformed within one or two weeks. Out of the dust appear plants, grasses, and flowers. Thin means that the seeds of these plants were alive, they were just waiting for their time to come.

"If they were to ask me now what I thought about Russia," Botha said in conclusion, "I would answer that the seeds of the Russian spirit are alive, they have not been destroyed. The only thing you need is a little rain. And that rain is already falling..."

Yelena Korneyeva

Too early to discard Soviet diplomacy

The Israelis and the Arabs are talking peace for the first time, thanks to the efforts of the United States, and, of course, the Soviet Union

One Soviet diplomat whose name is rarely found in newspapers but who took an active part in organizing the Madrid Peace Conference complained that it had become fashionable with the Soviet press to depict Soviet foreign policy as having no real weight in international affairs. The usual way of presenting things now is to say that the Americans have done the bulk of the work, and that the Soviet Union is no longer an authoritative factor in the Middle East process. The diplomat, who did not wish to see his name mentioned in the press, summarized some preliminary results of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's activities in the Middle East this year.

Milestones of the year

January 1991. It is surprising how much brief top-level meetings can sometimes produce. When they met on September 10, 1990, Mikhail Gorbachev and George Bush agreed to take joint steps towards a Middle East settlement as soon as the war in the Gulf was over. A communique on this intention was published in Helsinki, the venue of the summit.

In January 1991 the Soviet Foreign Minister met with Secretary of State James Baker to start implementing the two leaders' intention. It must be noted that the Soviet stance vis-à-vis the Middle East settlement has not known any serious changes for many years. It continued to stipulate the right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination up to the creation of an independent state. Times have changed, though. In the years of the cold war the Soviet stance was of a rather declarative character and could not be put into practice because of the Soviet-American confrontation in the Middle East.

In January the positions of the United States and the Soviet Union coincided in the joint declaration signed in Washington. The declaration was a document signed by partners rather than adversaries.

March 1991. Baker arrived in Moscow to discuss how the peace process might begin in the Middle East. The Arabs and Israel supported the idea of a peace conference, but had different visions of what such a conference should be. The Arab side believed that the conference was to be convened with the participation of the five permanent UN Security Council members. Israel opposed any UN participation believing that a UN-sponsored conference would degenerate into another trial in which Jerusalem would be the defendant. Besides, Israel was against UN participation because of the UN resolution equalling Zionism with racism. Israel insisted on direct bilateral negotiations between the Arab countries and itself. In March of this year the United States and the Soviet Union agreed to work out a compromise variant that would suit all sides.

April 1991. Kislovodsk. The weary Baker complained to Alexander Bessmertnykh that his negotiations in the Middle East were encountering too many difficulties. However, the two days of negotiations in Kislovodsk produced the formula for the format and structure of the Middle East peace conference. The sides agreed that the negotiations between the Arabs and Israel would be under the co-chairmanship of the USA and the Soviet Union. Since UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338 would be the focus of the talks, the United Nations would be indirectly represented at the peace conference. In addition, a UN Secretary-General envoy would also attend the forum.

The Soviet and American sides discussed the problem of possible guarantees of peaceful settlement on the part of the UN Security Council or individual SC members.

Current efforts. Both Soviet and American diplomats were exceedingly busy. Representatives of the European Community also joined the process.

The most formidable problem was the formula for Palestinian participation. As is known Israel resolutely opposed any PLO participation in the peace conference. The Soviet Union actively worked over the problem beginning in May of this year. Twice a month Soviet diplomats shuttled between Moscow and Tunis to negotiate with PLO representatives. Moscow proposed its own variant for Palestinian participation to the PLO leader, Yasser Arafat. It stipulated that the PLO would be represented at the conference within a joint Palestinian-Jordanian delegation. The same proposal was made to King Hussein of Jordan. As a result a joint delegation was formed.

The second most difficult problem was that of Syria's participation. That country seriously suffered because of the conflict: Israel had annexed the Syrian Golan Heights and was actively building its settlements there. The Soviet Union advanced the following arguments to the Syrian President, Hafez Assad: never in history had there been a more favourable situation to start a Middle East peace conference. After the Iraqi adventure against Kuwait, Syria found itself defending the just cause side by side with the majority of the world community. Israel also suffered because of Iraq, but demonstrated remarkable restraint. The Soviet Union and the United States acted as partners-sponsors in the name of a Middle East settlement. Besides, the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait showed the danger of a further arms race in the region. Finally, all sides were weary of the unending stalemate. As a result Syria and Lebanon agreed to attend the conference.

The decisive stage. It started with the visit to the Middle East of the new Foreign Minister of the USSR, Boris Pankin, on October 17–22. In Jerusalem Pankin met Secretary of State James Baker and their negotiations had a cardinal effect on the preparations for the Madrid Conference.

On October 18 the Soviet Union restored diplomatic relations with Isarael, thus removing the last obstacle on the road to the peace conference. Both ministers spent a lot of time negotiating with Palestinian representatives in Eastern Jerusalem. Immediately after the restoration of Soviet-Israeli diplomatic relations, the United States and the Soviet Union officially invited all participants to attend the opening of the Madrid Peace Conference on October 30.

The conference finally took place. It did not go smoothly all the way. Early on the morning of November 3 it turned out that the Syrian delegation refused to attend the bilateral talks with Israel. President Gorbachev immediately sent a confidential message to President Assad in a friendly manner asking the latter to help the co-chairmen of the conference and not to refuse to participate in the talks. On November 3 Hafez Assad instructed the Syrian delegation that talks should continue.

The preliminary results of the hard and time-consuming effort can be summarized in one word – success. However, this success is only the beginning of a long and difficult journey.

Some conclusions

This countdown of diplomatic efforts may sound boring to some readers. However, it helps one understand that the Soviet Union acted in the Middle East not as a shadow but as an authoritative partner of the United States. The speculations that Moscow is no longer influential in the region and that the USA has done the bulk of the work have nothing in common with reality. The illusion that the United States prepared the peace conference alone derives from James Baker's frequent visits to the Middle East. The Soviet stance is well known to the Arabs and unconditionally accepted by them. As for the US stance, it was opposed by some Arab states. That is why the Secretary of State had to take greater pains to secure the understanding of the Arabs.

The authority of the Soviet Union is also attested to by the Arab world's response to the restoration of full diplomatic relations with Israel. There were no condemnations. The Arab countries displayed understanding of this step. Moreover, the Arabs and Israel issued statements on the necessity of Soviet participation in the peace process. The Palestinian representatives who negotiated with Pankin were also happy to see the USSR as one of the co-sponsors. Exhausted by the decades of hatred, they saw for the first time that the era of vociferous declarations in support of their just cause was over and that the time of concrete efforts for peace in the region had finally come.

It must be noted at the same time that ordinary Soviets have little interest in the situation in the Middle East today. They are more concerned about their daily bread in the midst of the economic plight tormenting the nation. By the way, the Madrid Conference could have cost the USSR 5 million dollars. The Soviet parliament would have hardly sanctioned the spending of so much money. Our Madrid correspondent Sergei Muravyov reports that understanding the current Soviet difficulties the United States undertook to finance the conference and Moscow did not have to pay a cent for it.

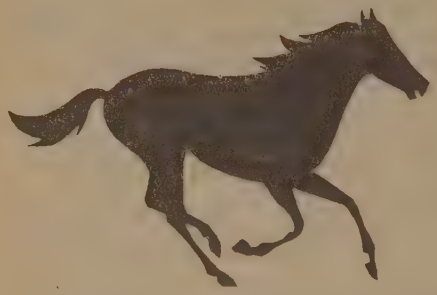
What did the conference give Moscow? First and foremost it helped strengthen the USSR's international authority. Some day the economic difficulties will be overcome and the Soviet Union will find a very good use for what has been achieved.

There is one more aspect. Let us imagine that finally a stable and lasting peace is established in the Middle East. The Palestinians are happy, everybody is happy. The army of terrorists which now exploits the slogan of support of the just Palestinian cause will find itself out in the cold. Libya which used to be accused of sponsoring international terrorism is acting more reasonably now and is more concerned about its own economic problems than international affairs. Iran is emerging as the stronghold of international terrorism. Iran's bellicose stance is not limited to its leaders' aggressive statements addressed to the Madrid Conference. That country is performing a great disservice to Islam by usurping the right to impose its own vision and interpretation of Islam on other countries. Unfortunately, the number of Islamic fanatics, advocates of the aggressive Iranian brand of Islam, is growing in southern republics of the USSR. It is very probable that Iran may try to turn the Muslim republics of the USSR into a testing ground for the promotion of its sinister doctrine. As far as I know, however, the number of Muslims opposing the ideas of the late Imam Khomeini is also growing in Iran.

It is easy to imagine that the coming of peace to the Middle East will result in the isolation of the sponsors of terrorism. It will be very difficult for Iran to infiltrate the so-called Islamic fighters through the borders of neighbouring states, including the Muslim republics of the former USSR confessing Islam.

Dmitry Zgersky

Drawing from the newspaper Hufvudstadsbladet (Finland)



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Moving towards the West while looking back at the East

Outwardly there are almost no changes in Finland. The clean streets of Helsinki, well-dressed people and the abundance of food and consumer goods in shops are signs of the long-established Western society. Everything seems to be as before, except the more serious faces of people.

In the last few months alarming tendencies have appeared in the outwardly quiet Finnish society. The rallies held lately in the capital's Senate Square brought together up to 35,000 people, a large number by local standards. One can often see limousines screeching to a stop at the entrances to ministries. The Finns accustomed to economic and social stability are disturbed by the growing economic and social crisis. Though incomparable with the shock experienced by their big eastern neighbour, this crisis is so deep that after the spring elections politicians "washed their hands of it," so to speak, leaving it to Esko Axo, a 37-year-old centrist, to get the country out of the mess.

The Finnish economy is in crisis. Politicians debate about whether the nation should join the European Community while hotheads covet Soviet Karelia

This map, carried in the Swedish newspaper *Dagens Nyheter*, shows the territories transferred to the Soviet Union in 1940 and 1944

His purely "capitalist" government, the first of its kind in the last 25 years, has inherited a sad record. Unemployment is reaching 10 percent of the labour force and the state budget deficit is amounting to 30 billion Finnmarks. During the past year industrial output fell by 10 percent and export by 7 percent. The difficulties were usually explained by a reduction in trade with the Soviet Union (to a fourth, if not a fifth of the former volume). This time the Finns decided not to lay the blame on others but to analyse their own errors.

"The fault for the economic impasse lies mainly with former Social Democratic ministers," says Seppo Kääriäinen, leader of the centrist members of the parliament. "At first, the Social Democrats brought about chaos in domestic affairs and now, being in the opposition, they hinder the sanative measures in the economy."

In spite of pressure on the part of trade unions, which held mass actions without a precedent in the last few decades, Esko Axo has charted a tough programme for overcoming the crisis. The programme envisages two drastic measures: the total freezing of government expenditure and a 4 to 5 percent reduction in the workers' incomes. The first measure will hit hard at the social security of citizens and the second measure will appreciably lower their purchasing power.

Campaign for integration with European Community

Some forces in Finland are campaigning ever more vigorously for giving up national priorities and prescriptions and "moving into Europe" more boldly. Only recently politicians and businessmen spoke about the possible entry into the European Community in a whisper and mainly in saunas, a favourite place for confidential talks. Today Social Democrats are openly agitating for membership in the Community while the centrists and conservatives now in power speak about it in the subjunctive mood.

"Expressing doubts about Finland's participation in the European Community is now considered a greater sin than using foul language in church," Gustav Skuthälla, the director of an agricultural commune, jokes. In his opinion, the question has already been settled in principle. It only remains to decide when to file an application. Like many others, Skuthälla believes that as a result of integration the Finnish agriculture will be ruined, a number of industries will lose their competitive power, and the well-being of working people will seriously worsen.

Broadly speaking the advocates of integration do not dispute the arguments of those who doubt its benefits. However, they say that Finland should not hesitate to make the best use of the remaining time in order to restructure its economy in the European way.

In the opinion of Gerhard Wendt, the director of the Kone company, Finland can choose any of the three ways of development, those followed by the

European Community, Albania and the Soviet Union. "But I do not think that the young generation will be interested in the last two ones," he added.

Indeed, experts agree that since economic restructuring has already started in Finland, it should follow to the end the East European model which has proved its viability. It is a different matter how quickly it should advance along this path. While the matter was discussed in saunas it turned out that Finland is not entirely free to decide its fate. Finland's partners in the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) have either hastened to make applications for joining the European Community (Austria and Sweden) or have begun to discuss such a possibility aloud (Norway, Iceland and Switzerland). To catch the train leaving for Europe means the Finns must join the EC institutions together with the above-mentioned "rich" nations within three to five years, and to miss this train means to get into the group of "poor" nations (Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Poland and, probably, the Baltic republics), which will be able to join the community only after the year 2000.

So far the government shows restraint, intimating that Finland should wait for the outcome of EFTA–EC negotiations on expanded cooperation and then decide what to do. Nevertheless, local "prophets" explained to me in a sauna that an application could be sent to Brussels as early as at the end of 1991 or the beginning of 1992. The final decision is delayed by the lack of unanimous opinion on the key issue of foreign policy – what about Finland's neutrality? The Finns had their neutral status fully recognized by the international community, Moscow included, only two years ago, and the country's joining the EC seems incongruous.

Austria has already voiced its desire to preserve its neutrality after joining the EC, but Sweden made no such reservation. That is why Helsinki is trying to read Brussel's lips to guess the EC's attitude to the Austrian desire of intact neutrality and the Swedes' giving up their traditional policy. So far the situation has not cleared and the "subjective" vision of neutrality has been replaced by the "objective" non-alighment to military political alliances. However, this way out is only temporary, because the EC is working out the plan to create exactly such an alliance.

West of the USSR

The movement towards the West is impossible for Finland without looking back at the East. Only recently the former was generally unrealistic because of the latter. The times have changed now, and Helsinki is taking advantage of the situation trying to get a free hand. After the rapprochement between Moscow and Bonn, President Mauno Koivisto approved Finland's unilateral renunciation of the "humiliating" provisions of the Peace Treaty of 1947, which in particular restrict the country's armed strength. Moscow was simply informed of the decision, and no objections followed.

Later on Finland raised the question of revising the Finnish-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance of 1948, which provides for military cooperation in the event of aggression on the part of "Germany or its allies." Though the Treaty was prolonged quite recently until the year 2003, foreign ministers Boris Pankin and Paavo Väyrynen agreed to revise it, and officials are now polishing the variant of a new treaty proposed by the Finns. I was told that the new treaty is similar to the agreements Moscow now concludes with former "satellite states in Eastern Europe," that is, it does not contain articles on military cooperation or on countering the actions of any third state or an alliance of states.

The "Union of Karelians" prepares a memorandum

It is indicative that the criticism of the 1948 Treaty is accompanied by attacks on the foreign policy of its "fathers," the so-called Paasikivi–Kekkonen Line. It is enough to parrot the words "friendship" and "peaceful intentions" when talking about the two countries, says Georg Ehrnrooth, leader of the Constitutional Party of Right, which, incidentally, did not win a single seat in the parliament during the last two elections. The idea of "retrieving the lost territories in the East," Karelia primarily, gradually becomes the central point of criticism from the right. The "Union of Karelians" is preparing a memorandum to the government and the President, openly demanding that Helsinki take advantage of the situation in the USSR to retrieve the eastern territories of Greater Finland.

"We have lost Karelia not by virtue of some secret clause (of the 1948 treaty), but after the two wars," Mauno Koivisto replies to similar claims, hinting with uprightness sometimes characteristic of him at the dangerous proximity of the area of St. Petersburg (whose population exceeds that of Finland) to the "old" frontier. Those who share the President's view believe that annoying the "eastern neighbour" is fraught with military and political consequences and is not advantageous economically. Finland benefits considerably from the activity of its businesses on the territory of Karelia. In the event of the retrieval of this territory Helsinki will have to pay a huge sum to Russia and allocate 120 to 150 billion Finnmarks for its revival. It is not easy to find such a sum. Moreover, there will arise the problem of assimilating the 200,000 to 250,000 Russians now living in Karelia.

Talk of this kind is conducted without the potential seller of Karelia, because the latter simply does not exist. However, a more serious reappraisal of ties with the East began at a high political level with future partners. In the opinion of Helsinki such partners are not only and not so much the central authorities of the USSR but Russia, too. The news of the August putsch in Moscow aroused mixed feelings in Helsinki – fear of the collapse of emergent democracy in the USSR and, believe it or not, relief over the establishment of some order in Moscow.

"Many Finnish businessmen welcomed the coup attempt," Kone company director Gerhard Wendt notes. "Not for political but for purely business considerations," he hastens to add.

The failure of the coup dashed hopes for a "firm hand" in Moscow, and the government and the President of Finland gave up their former, very cautious approach to the expansion of contacts with republics within the USSR. A decision was urgently adopted to establish diplomatic relations with Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia. Helsinki is now working out with Russia a package of treaties. True, forgetting about the proclaimed readiness to settle mutually the question of non-visa trips to Finland, which is annually visited by hundreds of thousands of Soviet tourists, the Finns are introducing payment for visas. The sum is not large (50 Finnmarks). A top official of the emigration board unofficially explained this measure in the following way: the authorities are trying to limit the flow of tourists from the Soviet Union.

Drawing from Hufvudstadsbladet

Let us not be pessimists and remember that the intentions of authorities, embodied in real actions, sometimes produce unexpected results. For instance, some time ago Helsinki wanted to transfer its trade with the USSR to hard currency settlements. Barter trade was renounced. However, both parties are now trying to revive it. It turned out that in other fields, not in trade only, a great deal depends on purely technical details. For instance, Finland needs to build one more atomic power plant and is prepared to discuss this question with its eastern neighbour, linking it with reciprocal deliveries of goods. Helsinki also wants to buy new combat planes. When I asked the charming defence minister Elisabeth Rehn why only Swedish and American aircraft are offered for bidding, she smiled significantly. "You know that Soviet-Finnish affairs are conducted in a somewhat different way," she replied. "We have not forgotten about MiG–29 planes."

I do not know whether it is always good that affairs are conducted in "a different way." It is probably acceptable in the military sphere. Such a style is being abandoned in other fields, and it is a gratifying fact. Recently the Finns learned the real name of mysterious "Yuri Komissarov." For a long time this mouthpiece of Moscow taught sense to local politicians. As some people guessed, this alias was used by deputy foreign minister Yuri Deryabin. Today he should not use a pseudonym in discussing the various aspects of Finland's foreign policy.

The dialogue in the field of environment protection is also conducted in plain terms. Progress has been made, though with difficulty, towards the cooperation in eliminating harmful discharges at the nickel works on the Kola Peninsula. Major steps are also taken on our own too. Recently Soviet soldiers salvaged and thoroughly decontaminated a German torpedo boat and transported it from the Ladoga lake to Novaya Zemlya in the Arctic Ocean. In the postwar years the boat was used as an object for radiological warfare experiments. The threat to the water supply of St. Petersburg and to the Gulf of Finland was removed.

It is becoming a new good tradition in bilateral relations to call things by their proper names. This inspires hope, especially if frankness and the desire to uphold national interests does not oust the sense of tact and the readiness to respect the interests of the other party.

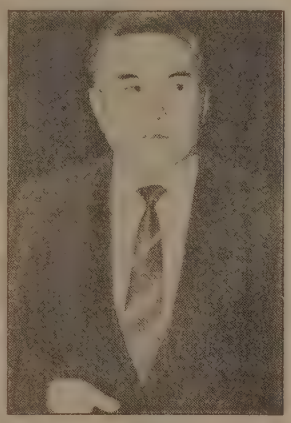
Alexander Polyukhov,
our own correspondent

HELSINKI–STOCKHOLM

Establishing direct ties

Kazakhstan House overlooking the Thames

It was the first time that a guest won the applause of the audience gathered in the ancient mansion of the Foreign Press Association in London. The guest concerned was neither Michael Jackson, nor Ronald Reagan or Mikhail Gorbachev. Foreign journalists accredited at London applauded Nursultan Nazarbayev, President of Kazakhstan. In the space of an hour the Kazakh leader gained the favour of journalists from many countries by his frankness, wit, knowledge of problems and, what is important, by his ability to explain what Kazakhstan wants and what it can offer in exchange. The last mentioned fact distinguished him advantageously from many others who came to London with illusions but went away empty-handed.



Nursultan Nazarbayev: a double breakthrough

In the first hours of his stay Nursultan Nazarbayev expressed the desire to meet with Soviet journalists accredited at London. It was an unusual step. Other distinguished guests from the Union did not seek the knowledge of the country acquired by these correspondents and were reluctant to hear their judgements, sometimes harsh and critical. And it is a critical approach that some of our new leaders lack. At first, the Kazakh leader was not an exception here. He spoke about "historical ties between Great Britain and Kazakhstan" and "the readiness of British companies" to rush to his republic with the aim of helping it to develop a market economy. None of the new Soviet leaders is influenced by arguments until he sees in Britain quite friendly but cool smiles.

British journalists showed more interest in the future of nuclear weapons based in Kazakhstan than in the problems and prospects of the Tengiz and other gas and oil deposits. One can well understand them. First, the long history of metropolitan Britain with its powerful empire instilled in them the thought that everyone needs their advice. As a rule, it is a businesslike one and it should not be ignored. Secondly, the British are not willing to invest money simply because they do not have money to spare.

In short, it seemed after the first two days of Nazarbayev's stay in Britain that his visit would be fruitless. But it was a wrong impression.

British Petroleum officials learned that Nazarbayev's visit to their plants would be covered by the well-known American tele-company CNN. There were no British television reporters in the team of journalists who accompanied the Kazakh President. The group also included a Japanese correspondent. It was an alarming signal for the British. As a result, more than ten representatives of British Petroleum immediately asked visas to Kazakhstan. Knowing about the activity of the American company Chevron, British businessmen compared it with the "interest" shown by non-English journalists and understood that it was high time to act.

A second breakthrough took place without Nazarbayev personally. While the Kazakh President listened to the Queen's speech three members of his team held intensive talks with the group of "Spec" companies. The parties reached an agreement on the opening of a Kazakhstan Trade House in London. It will represent the interests of Kazakh firms and companies wishing to start business in Great Britain. It is certainly a timely step. Now that the foreign economic structures of the Union are breaking up republics need their own "strongholds," so to speak. Without such agents "direct ties" come across so many go-betweens that a deal becomes unprofitable in the end.

In conclusion, I would give one piece of advice to new democratic leaders who do not know how to work and what to do in order to help those who voted for them. I would advise them to go to London. The British, like no one else, can dispel illusions.

Sergei Babusenko,
our own correspondent
LONDON

Enter EECT

The new organization is not a Comecon successor

Comecon's agony was long and painful. Convening for regular sessions and sittings in the last years of Comecon's life, ministers and secretaries of the ruling parties habitually uttered the usual words about friendly ties, mutual assistance, cooperation, division of labour, racking their brains to calculate the cost of one more programme, agreement or deal.

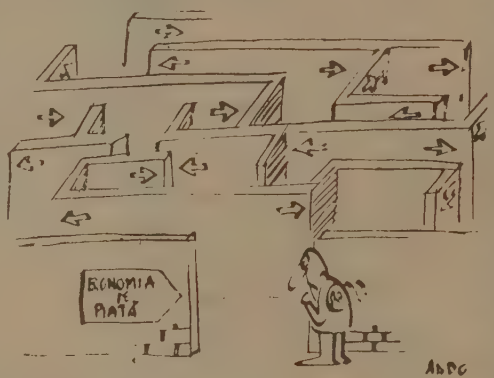
The decision to transfer mutual payments to the hard-currency basis beginning in 1991 did not ease Comecon's agony, contrary to the expectations of some Soviet politicians. Neither the Soviet Union nor its partners had enough hard currency to pay each other. The situation was aggravated by the paralysis of power and disintegration of the USSR when the central authorities could not guarantee anything, while the newly-independent exporters and sovereign republics turned out to be business illiterate developing nonetheless a great desire to gain access to Western markets. The Soviet Union's problematic solvency and growing foreign debts also multiplied the obstacles to mutual trade.

Former Soviet partners in Comecon are also suffering serious losses. The hopes of some Eastern politicians for a quick regearing of national economies for Western markets after the demise of Comecon have proved futile. Many producers in Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, which served the Soviet market for decades, found themselves on the brink of bankruptcy. The vital trade turnover which used to provide for deliveries of consumer goods and other commodities to the USSR and raw materials and energy carriers to East European states has declined.

It would be wrong to say that the aggravated problems did not attract anybody's attention. During his visit to Czecho-Slovakia Boris Yeltsin stressed the necessity to develop a new type of relations between Russia and Eastern Europe and emphasized the importance of sound economic contacts.

The former federal government also tried to take some measures. It lifted the ban on barter of some products and some customs tariffs. Shortly before the final dissolution of Comecon the last attempt was made to preserve at least some coordination structures on the intergovernment level with the participation of some non-European countries. This attempt failed because of the character of the suggested organization and its composition. Political factors were at work as well: the initiative came from the former Cabinet of Ministers of the USSR which had a low political rating.

While governments hesitate, business circles step in. Thanks to their efforts an initiative was born in Moscow which can play a positive role in filling the economic vacuum. Last October Moscow hosted the constituent conference of the commercial non-governmental organization East European Cooperation and Trade (EECT) which already includes over 200 enterprises, firms and banks from Kazakhstan, Russia, Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary, the Ukraine, Czecho-Slovakia and other countries.



The road to free market

Drawing from Romanian Life magazine

A team of Soviet and American experts and businessmen has worked out a model of this organization based on the pattern of clearing operations used at US exchanges. It is expected that the new organization will successfully function in the current conditions of economic cooperation between East European and many other countries. As a free market structure, the EECT will function like Western organizations of the Trade Exchange type. The East European Exchange, International Clearing Bank and various trading houses are being set up in this connection. The Hard Currency Certificate (HCC) which the International Clearing Bank is going to start circulating soon will be used as the common unit of mutual payments. It is planned to maintain the HCC exchange rate at the level of about two US dollars. This exchange rate as well as prices on the EECT market will be defined on the basis of free market relations.

Deals between participants in the new organization will be registered and documented both at the central exchange and regional centres. According to the plan, as stabilization funds will grow, broking firms will be able to conclude HCC (for EECT members) and regular currency deals for other clients.

EECT membership makes it possible for enterprises and banks to join operations of exchange of currencies through the transfer conversion mechanisms. For foreign partners interested in investing in this country this will mean an opportunity to accumulate funds on the ICB accounts and accounts of other member banks of the EECT in Soviet rubles so as to participate in the processes of privatization in the economic space formerly known as the Soviet Union. The transfer convertation backed by flows of goods will facilitate transition to convertibility of the Soviet ruble.

There is hope that the new model suggested by the EECT will make it possible to restore severed ties between East European enterprises and to head off the bankruptcies of many enterprises formerly oriented towards Comecon cooperation. If things go well, in a year's time the turnover may amount to several billion dollars.

Thus, a new international economic organization based on free market principles and generated by initiative from below is emerging in the east of Europe. The constituent conference elected Russian minister of grain purchases, Leonid Cheshinsky, EECT President. The ICB is headed by Feema Breitshtrus (USA), and the EEE, by Valentin Rutman, chairman of the joint-stock company InterDonIndustrya.

The Consultative Council of the organization includes many prominent politicians, economists and businessmen.

Valery Leonidov

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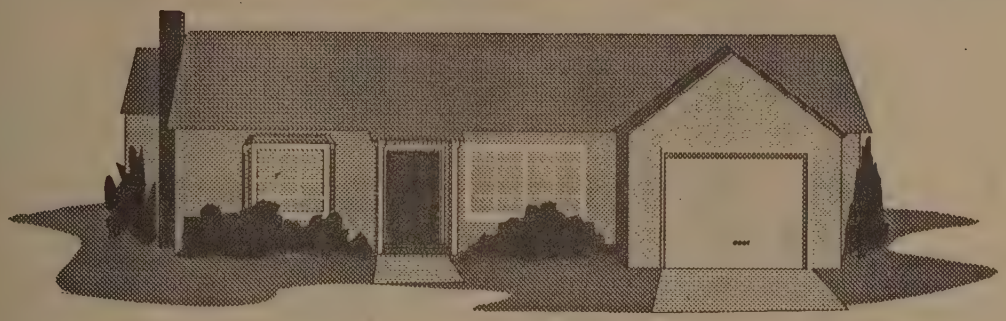

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Before the verdict is in...

Justice will not return to Russia unless trial by jury is restored

Boris Zolotukhin and Sergei Pashin

As distinct from the bodies of legislative and executive power, the judiciary can be above the political and economic standard of society's development. A reform of the judiciary is not only necessary, it is inevitable. The individual manifestations of the crisis our legal system is now in – its emphasis on prosecution, its violations of legality and human rights, its miscarriages of justice, the inadequacy of its technical facilities, police shorthandedness – have a cumulative destructive effect.

Makeup for the prosecutor

Our judiciary's grinding poverty – in the literal meaning of the word – has ceased to be a matter of its prestige alone. Once a purely technical problem, it has by now become a procedural one. Thirty-nine percent of the Russian Federation's courts function in appalling conditions. More than 300 of them "dwell" in decrepit sub-standard buildings. For want of courtrooms, more than a half of the Russian Federation's judges have to hear criminal and civil cases in private offices, which is a violation of the openness principle. The current method of keeping records of evidence drags out the passing of cases through the first-instance courts, hampers the registering of the remarks made on the record of legal proceedings and the filing of appeals to a higher court, and allows room for falsifications. Even the most conscientious clerk can fail to record about 50 percent of the valuable evidence given at a trial with the result that the guarantees of a case being retried in a court of appeals or brought before supervisory bodies are reduced to nought.

Against the background of the registered rise in crime, favourable conditions are arising for departmental law drafting activity when documents serving the interests of this or that state agency are submitted to Russia's parliament for approval – and given the go-ahead. There is the danger of cosmetic "improvements" of legislation being substituted for a comprehensive judicial reform which calls for systems approach and a thoughtful analysis. The weight of the extra powers and privileges granted to law-enforcement agencies should by no means be in direct proportion to the force of pressure they bring to bear on the People's Deputies.

Over the years, the judiciary has wielded no power in the country, and has been, in fact, at the beck and call of the powers-that-be. Abolished by Lenin's notorious Decree on the Judiciary No.2 of November 22, 1917, legal power is in need of not so much transformation as of revival. The latter is unthinkable unless we realize the specific role justice has to play in society.

The contemporaries of the Russian legal reform of 1864 said that what emerged from it was an "autocratic legal republic." Even the division of society into classes, the absence of representative institutions restricting the monarch's will and the survival of patriarchal mentality and feudal relations could not interfere with the establishment of an open, independent and competitive law court. Democratic justice keeps its stability in the most aggressive medium and, as distinct from the institutions of legislative and executive power, the judiciary can be above the standard of a society's political and economic development. The judiciary preserves and creates a legal tradition (a form of culture in its own right) in the same way as monasteries preserved and disseminated book knowledge during troubled times.

If two persons are in agreement, one of them is one too many

The classical theory by Charles Louis Montesquieu did not presuppose the absolute sovereignty of judicial power. On the contrary, by giving it the role of a counterbalance to executive power, the philosopher stressed its sublegal character. Modern notions of the interrelationships between the branches of state power are much broader.

It is an axiom that if two persons always agree with one another, one of them is one too many. Therefore, it's time we gave up the notion of justice as a means of carrying out a political will by force of state coercion. The demands that the courts of law "should step up the anti-crime campaign," "create an atmosphere of intolerance" as regards this or that offrence, "enhance the educational role of trials," the inclusion of judges in committees made up of representatives of law-enforcement agencies – all these are consequences of a simplistic view of the

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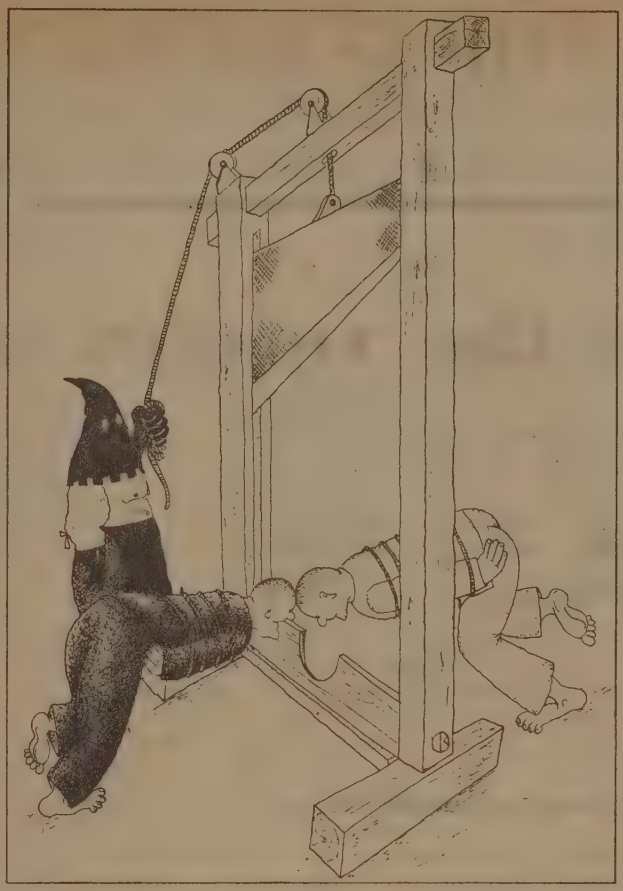
nature of judicial activity. It is the chief mission of justice, in our opinion, to protect human rights and those of society by enforcing the law.

By definition, justice means a just interpretation and administration of the law, and it is not accidental that Justinian's Digests (Roman code containing statutes and pronouncements by prominent lawyers) derived "justice" from "just." As for Soviet legal science, it was long a slave to the concept imposed on it by Vyshinsky and Krylenko who announced that law was a code of behaviour established by the state. As a matter of fact, legislative norms cannot embrace life in all its infinitely varied manifestations, much less regulate it. Both the Anglo-Saxon and the Roman-German legal systems (the latter being closer to ours) adopted, at least to some extent, the idea of suprapositive law which found its reflection in legal practice, specifically in the consitution observance control measures taken by the US Supreme Court, the FRG Federal Constitutional Court and other such bodies.



Drawing by V. Soldatov

The devil misunderstood the commandments

That many human notions cannot be put into legal terms is the subject of a short story by Leonid Andreyev. The story is about the devil who, devoid of the moral criteria inherent in any human being, appealed to a priest for help. Attempts to set forth moral commandments in writing brought the clergyman to his grave and proved of no help to the newly converted devil because none of them was universal, and each had to be supplemented with innumerable commentaries. As for people, they confine themselves to matching every external demand against what the inner voice of their conscience tells them, and need no formal definitions.

Justice means to a law-governed state what conscience does to a human being. In the courtroom, the state talks with a man about his vital values (honour, dignity, life, freedom, property) in terms of law; therefore, a mechanical, indifferent application of legal norms to the given circumstances is impermissible. Besides, laws may turn out to be unfair and to run counter to the Constitution and natural human rights and freedoms.

The conservatism and detachment of judicial power enable it to play the role of an oracle in the dispute between the legislator and the law-enforcer, to restrain the former's theoretical enthusiasm and political impatience, and to counter the latter's selfishness and administrative fervour.

For parliament, the court of law is a feedback channel. Systematic rejections of arbitrary laws by courts, the easing of sanctions established for breaking such laws, and other "inhibiting" actions by the court point out to the deputies the mistakes they have made. Having met with resistance from sober-minded judges, an ambitious legislator will launch counterreforms giving administration judicial functions and impinging upon justice. Upon receiving a feedback signal, totalitarian regimes are prone to respond to it with a "killer command" until silence sets in. A sensible legislator will realize that he can lean upon only what offers resistance. Incidentally, tsarist Russia's judiciary system, which demonstrated its independence and dynamism, promptly came under attacks and oppression. The range of cases coming within the jurisdiction of the jury was steadily narrowed, the Senate thought up far-fetched pretexts for defying the verdicts passed by the "street court."

Passing the Law of the Russian Federation of May 6, 1991, "On the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation" was an important step towards reform because from then on the court has the right to check normative acts and, in some cases, the practice of their application for conformity to the Russian Constitution. Any citizen, denied protection by the general court, can appeal to the Constitution Court of the Russian Federation, the supreme constitutional control body. If a law adopted by the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet or President runs counter to the Constitution of the Russian Federation, any judge – including that of the People's Court – should refrain from using it, of course.

Justice by individuals

The concept of the judicial reform in the Russian Federation, worked out by the Legislative Committee of the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet, proceeds from the premise that the court's two chief advantages – its objectivity and its relative freedom from the political will expressed in a law – predetermine its leading position in the law-enforcement system.

The court will be able to hold the pivotal position – befitting it by right – in the law-enforcement system if legislation affords it direct and indirect control over out-of-court legal proceedings.

Direct control is exercised in the following forms: the sanctioning of investigative actions which involve restrictions of citizens' constitutional rights and freedoms (searches, inspection of residential premises, the opening and inspection of private correspondence, wire-taping, taking suspects into custody, etc); subsequent checks on the legality and validity of such actions and of certain decisions; the settlement of disputes between the defendant and the counsel for the defence, on the one hand, and those who conduct a trial (the investigator, the prosecutor) on the other;

analysis of representations by investigators who disagree with the supervising prosecutors' instructions.

Indirect control should be exercised in such a way as to apply the rules of legal proceedings in court to the early stages of investigation and to make these rules a standard which, if not met by the body of evidence submitted to court, rules out the verdict of guilty. The court of first instance can always appeal against negligence, strained interpretation or falsification of evidence by investigators and prosecutors, thus reducing their efforts to nought. In particular, evidence obtained by illegal means or before the initiation of legal proceedings have no demonstrative force and shall be withdrawn from the case; any mention of such evidence in the record of a court session is impermissible.

Justice can fulfil its mission only if it is in the hands of self-respecting individuals rather than minions of the authorities. In civilized states, courts of law enjoy distinguished status and have their sessions in palatial buildings; the judges are independent and well paid; even the fanciful garbs of its votaries and the deliberately conservative courtroom rituals set justice apart from the political scene and mundane affairs.

The judicial reform concept aims at setting up an independent and influential judicial corporation, at enforcing the rule of law in the courtroom, at giving the officers of law salaries and a standard of living and social security commensurate with the responsibility they bear.

The judicial reform will be based on the principle of the irremovability of judges except district judges of the peace who will be elected by the public for a term of five years. Other judges will be appointed by the President of the Russian Federation with the consent of the Federation's Supreme Soviet and remain in office until the age of 60-70.

The nomination of judges for the court chairmanship and other judicial posts, the institution of disciplinary proceedings against judges and their removal from office or transfer – these are to become the exclusive prerogatives of the judicial corporation.

The system of assistant judges, which has repeatedly proved ineffectual, will be abolished and replaced by the jury. Some sentences and decisions will be passed by professional judges individually or jointly with two other members of a three-man board.

In November 1989 the USSR Parliament adopted, after stormy debates, Article 11 of the national and Union Republics' fundamental legislation on the judicial system which permitted trial by jury of defendants arraigned on charges carrying capital punishment or imprisonment for a term of over ten years.

Serving on a jury: a civic duty?

A distinguishing feature of the jury is that it comprises both "judges of law" (professional lawyers) and "judges of fact" (jurymen). The latter decide whether the defendant is guilty or not. The former conduct a trial, deliver a decision on legal issues (such as whether the case should be closed due to the expiration of the statutory period, whether this or that piece of evidence is admissible), formulate the questions to jurymen, sum up the results of investigation and then, in accordance with the verdict passed by the jury, draw up the sentence, i.e. select the appropriate article of the criminal code and mete out punishment. The jury bears no responsibility for its verdict, does not explain it, and has the right to acquit a defendant without giving any motives for that.

The important advantages of the jury are collective decision-making, absolute independence and, consequently, minimal chances for abuses and miscarriages of justice.

Abroad, the jury tries no more than 3-7 percent of the cases, but anyone is guaranteed the right to trial by jury. This makes a lot of sense. As any human institution, the jury has its own sphere of application outside which it is useless. This is not an instrument of routine justice using a stereotype which suits all. A professional judge will suffice in a situation where stability is more important than the truth and where legality is considered to be more appropriate than fairness. The jury steps in when law enforcement may prove more cruel than the crime committed, or when the defendant persistently pleads not guilty.

In a word, the jury is a means of dealing with extraordinary situations where it is more dangerous to sin against fairness than against an abstract legal norm.

Therefore, the jury is to try only those defendants who, if proved guilty as charged, may face imprisonment for a term of more than one year or a harsher punishment. Cases punishable by death, as well as other cases such as those involving abuse of office and violent crimes, will be heard by the jury obligatorily, and the rest of the cases – optionally, depending on the wish of the accused. Trial of civil cases (except labour and divorce ones) by jury is probably inexpedient, and most of them can be put within the jurisdiction of courts of arbitration.

Serving on a jury should be regarded as a universal civic duty of all the citizens of age who have had no brushes with the law.

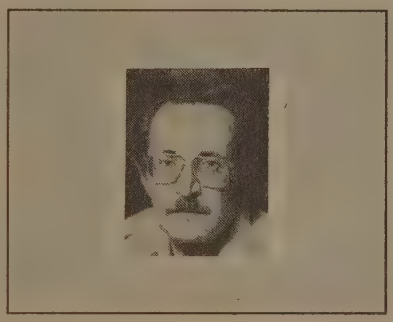
Sentences passed by a juryless court may be appealed in a higher court as part of guaranteeing citizens' rights. The cases in question should be re-tried following the procedure used by the first-instance court which involves summoning the sides, hearing witness' testimonies and reading out written evidence. The second-instance court looks into not only formal but also substantial aspects of the decision appealed, i.e., re-tries the case in substance.

Cases may be re-tried by a court of appeals after being heard and decided by the jury. Such a re-trial boils down to making sure that the first-instance court has observed the law when trying the case, and therefore calls for no evidence analysis. The practice of re-trying in a higher court the cases decided by the jury is based on the premise that in the first-instance court the jury receives immediate personal impressions which cannot be conveyed to anybody else.

The judicial system is to undergo considerable reorganization. As a result of its disintegration, there will function, on the territory of the Russian Federation, the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation, the Republics' constitutional control bodies, general law-courts headed by the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation, courts of arbitration headed by the Higher Court of Arbitration of the Russian Federation, and other specialized courts of law.

A single unitarian judicial system will be replaced by both a federal and a republican one as found in any truly federative state. Plans are afoot for the establishment of a four-link federal judicial system comprising magistrate's courts, federal district and federal regional courts, and the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation. Notably, the borders of court districts should not coincide with the administrative territorial division of Russia. The terms of reference of the federal courts can and should be precisely defined by an agreement between the Russian Federation's constituent Republics and the Russian Federation as such.

New Times continues Simon Soloveichik's series on education in various countries. After the articles on education in Argentina, Bulgaria, USA, Czecho-Slovakia, France and Sweden, the story of how children are taught in Germany



I go to school in Marburg

THIS TIME I GO TO SCHOOL IN MARBURG – unbelievable!

The alienation of children from poetry is one of modern education's gravest sins. Pushkin is killed every day and every year at literature classes. It is impossible to love poetry after literature classes. It is only after some time since the boring education has ended that one realizes how beautiful poetry can be.

I learned the first lines of poetry in my life not because the teacher said I had to, but because I could not help repeating them over and over again as I roamed the city. The poem was called "Marburg."

One street in this city in central Germany is named after Pasternak (there is no Pasternak Street in Moscow) and a memorial plaque decorates the house with three slender brick columns where the poet stayed. The plaque was put up thanks to the efforts of Barbara Karhoff, a Russian language instructor at the local University, and reads: Boris Leonidovič Pasternak, Nobelpreis für Literatur, Nobel Prize winner for literature, studied at the Marburg Philipps University in 1912. Then comes a line from a poem by Pasternak: "Farewell, philosophy." Here is Marburg, poetry once defeated philosophy.

The great Mikhail Lomonosov studied at Marburg many years before Pasternak, and another plaque is devoted to him. Why on earth can some people do things properly and others can't? However, Barbara provided some consolation when she told me that it took her nearly six years to have the Pasternak plaque installed.

When I returned to Moscow and started looking through the past week's press, I came across a quotation from Vyacheslav Pyetsukh: "What's world philosophy worth if it cannot answer one simple question: why one doesn't get mugged for no apparent reason in Stuttgart, for instance, while in Russia it happens all the time?"

That was exactly what I wanted to have answered throughout my trip to Germany. One question haunted me, too, all the time: why "one doesn't get mugged for nothing" in Marburg despite all the difficulties of life and the scaring crime statistics? Why were all people, all young people, all teenagers, all kids so free and self-confident and polite? Why was everybody trying to help? Why have the Germans become easily Europe's most hospitable nation?

I GO TO SCHOOL IN MARBURG. A city famous for its school of philosophy. The subject of my study though, is simpler than philosophy. I am studying a public education system that cultivates human dignity starting with kindergarten through school and to the university level.

A kindergarten. Small blue towels are hung in a spacious bathroom. I counted the towels, there were ninety of them, equal to the number of children in that kindergarten. The children are divided into three large groups. The age criterion is not used here and groups include children from three to six, like a family. Some time ago there was much debate about mixed-age groups in the Soviet Union, too. Mixed-age education was regarded as a bold innovation inspired by Makarenko, but in the USSR instruction is given according to rigidly planned programmes and it is impossible to make a uniform programme for children of different ages. In Germany there are no programmes and that is why, having tried different variants, the kindergarten educators decided that there will be three groups with children of different ages and two nurses in each group. There are never any common classes and the nurses do not have anything difficult to do: kids don't eat or sleep in the kindergarten. They are driven in at 7.30, and between noon and 2 p.m. the parents take them home for lunch and then bring them back to the kindergarten. It is believed that children must have lunch at home with their mommies or some relatives, so as not to get tired of the kidnergarten or to miss their family. This schedule, of course, requires a different way of life, different opportunities and a different vision of the kindergarten as an educational means rather than just a place where you leave kids for the day.

I was talking to one of the nurses seated by a small table, while groups of two to five children were playing around us. In Marburg they think that it is normal when children are friends and when they quarrel: they are free to change company. They also believe that if a child sits quietly for more than ten minutes, there is something wrong with him or her. A healthy child must make a lot of noise. As far as I understood, the idea of getting children ready for school, of teaching children to be attentive, etc. is alien to the German educational system. First and foremost, a kindergarten protects childhood. Another aim of the kindergarten (as the nurse told me) was to teach the child to make independent decisions. In German books they write that a person controlled from the outside may be dangerous for democracy.

Later, I spoke to a school teacher who was holding his three-year-old daughter on his lap. I noticed small earrings in the little girl's ears. I asked why the little girl wanted her ears pierced – did mommy want it? The teacher smiled and said, Nein, the mother was against it, but the girl insisted. Can you imagine a girl of three insisting on what she wants? She is permit-

Marburg. No problems, and not only in schools

ted to insist and the parents are not scared of this and don't ask: "What will become of her?" – experience tells them that this kind of education teaches people to control themselves.

I GO TO SCHOOL IN MARBURG, or to be more precise, one hundred kilometres from Marburg, in a small and out-of-the-way German town: red tiled roofs, flowers surrounding every house, small shops, a Chinese restaurant.

And what a school it was! I admired the school, but out of stupid pride I was reluctant to show it.

I was out of luck – I came to Marburg during school vacations. Germany consists of sixteen states now and each state has an independent minister of education and education rules and regulations. There is one thing on which states must agree, though – the time of school vacations. It is impossible to have vacations at one and the same time in Germany because otherwise roads will be hopelessly jammed and all traffic will stop. As a result, classes began on August 8 in Hessen and the vacations began already in October. The Schotten school was empty, but nonetheless I had a chance to see its classrooms, workshops, halls and other premises, thanks to my hospitable guide Deputy Principal Wilhelm Lückel who teaches Russian in Schotten and works as a secretary of the Hessen Society of Russian-Language Teachers. The Schotten school has 740 students and 50 teachers plus some teachers who work part-time. The school building impressed me as unusually large, probably because it was empty. It was not a palace or a theatre, there were no columns or vaults, it was not supermodern, but the building looked somewhat serious and solid. Actually, the architecture of the school building reflected the philosphy of German education, its humanism, seriousness and cooperation with children.

Where the building was serious, even sombre, the classrooms looked bright and jolly: there were photos of children, funny graffiti, posters with rock stars everywhere. The empty school building echoed with the noise of children's laughter, although there were no children or teachers inside. No extra-curricular activities were planned for the vacations. In Germany teachers have the right to vacations as well.

Being the only school in the neighbourhood, the Schotten school actually combined three types of schools existing in Germany: the basic school, the secondary school and the advanced high school. In Germany children first go to four-year primary school (plus one preparatory year) and then, depending on abilities and according to their parents wishes, they are admitted either to the nine-year basic school, or ten-year secondary school, or thirteen-year advanced high school. Advanced high school students graduate at 19 or 20. In Schotten the three schools peacefully coexist in one building, but each school has its own principal. There are no difficulties among the students. Now the school includes special classes of German for children whose parents have arrived from the USSR. So far children of Soviet emigrants study in special forms, they are a problem because they find it difficult to adapt to the atmosphere when no one compels children to study or demands anything. Little Germans understand the importance of learning and traditionally study themselves. Soviet children are not used to it. After they learn the language and join ordinary forms, problems disappear and children start learning like anybody else.

Life in Germany is unbelievably problem-free. I asked a primary school teacher: "Could you say what problems you have in school?" The teacher thought for a moment and then smiled: "No problem." No problems with the kids? No. With learning? No. Any aggressive kids? No. Any trouble with the principal? No. With parents? No, not really. Feeling a bit uncomfortable, teacher Reiner Wenzel added that he would like to

see more teachers at the school – 25 kids in one form was too many, he said.

That was how we discussed the problems of the German school.

Probably, the school knows no problems, because education remains one of the most critical problems of society. One day I looked through five big German dailies and found an article on education problems in each of them (in the Soviet press nowadays the problems of schooling are not discussed for months). One article said there were not enough textbooks, another described the private schools boom in eastern lands and the article in *Frankfurter Rundschau* was entitled: "School Chaos or School Catastrophe?" The author, Jutta Roitsch, believed the shortage of vacant jobs for young teachers, the aging of teachers and the resulting distancing of them from the kids might bring about an educational catastrophe.

In fact, it is very difficult to find a job as a teacher in Germany. The profession of a teacher is very prestigious and it fetches good money and much spare time which is highly valued in Germany. On the last day of classes before vacations one can see teachers' Wohns parked outside schools: campers complete with beds, fridge and stove. Many teachers like to travel and head for a trip immediately after the last bell rings. All German love to travel. Easily every second person in Berlin holds a map trying to locate himself. They say that Germans are born with rucksacks.

Can there be any problems with schooling when teachers are happy? Can there be any problems if science is greatly respected, if all newspapers carry big articles about the new Nobel Prize winners: Germans Bert Sakmann and Erwin Neher (medicine), Swiss Richard Ernst (chemistry), Frenchman Pierre-Gilles de Gennes (physics). The Frenchman discovered something so important that papers are calling him "Newton of our time." This Newton's name is unknown in this country. *Die Welt* wrote sarcastically that for the first time since 1970 Americans won no Nobel Prize in natural sciences. When did a Soviet scientist last win a Nobel Prize? "The Europeans are in a European company," wrote *Die Welt*.

Eropeans, Europe. Swedes are Sweden, the French are France, but Germans are Europe. One can hear the expression "from the British Isles to the Urals" every minute there, schools advertise all kinds of European contests and the German patent service has patented the first European animal – the mouse specially bred for cancer research. Frankfurt-am-Main has recently hosted the first European congress of sex-workers at which prostitutes called on colleagues from all countries to unite.

I STUDY AT MARBURG UNIVERSITY which is one of Europe's oldest and famous universities, founded about 500 years ago. The old castle-like structure where Lomonosov once studied now accommodates the department of theology. As for me, I visited the modern department of linguistics where Russian is taught along with other languages. The students of Barbara Karhoff work as translators by the end of the fourth year and are already quite fluent in Russian in the second year. Students were speaking Russian when they told about how they lived.

University education is free of charge in Germany, but students have to pay a lot to the landlords for accommodation. It is impossible to get a place in the university dormitory or a modest inexpensive room in the small town crammed with students. East German students are almost never found in Marburg – the local university is too expensive for them. Everything is expensive, but people study nonetheless. Lectures of famous professors attract so many people that some students have to sit right on the floor.

"Too many people want to satudy in German universities," one of the students sighed.

Too many means that about one fourth of all schoolchildren go to advanced high schools and half of them later enter various universities. This is half as much as in the United States and twice as much as in the USSR.

One does not have to take exams to enter a university, it is enough to send an application form and then to be mailed the answer. Lower-income families apply for state grants, richer students find a flat, sign up for the optional courses which interest them most and start studying.

It is more difficult to be admitted to departments where students are trained in professions involving laboratory research: to enroll one has to pass the selective contest of general cetrificates of education. A special bureau regulates admission to all universities and the owner of a bad GCE has almost no chance to enter a good univeresity or to be trained in a prestigeous profession – he should have done better in school.

This is a difficult problem. Once they tried to introduce in our country the average school mark, making its owner eligible for enrolling in a university, but nothing good came of it. The experiment was soon stopped to the utter satisfaction of the public and children stopped studying properly at school, private teachers flourished and parents had to pay through the nose to get their child properly trained for entrance examinations for college. Strictly speaking, entrance examinations are a great humiliation to school,the manifestation of mistrust in the teacher. All over the world such a document is recognized as the main document of education and it is only in the USSR that it is a worthless scrap of paper.

Let us not debate whether this mistrust in teachers is deserved or not, but let us agree that this is where the Soviet school starts being ruined. Evidently, we will have to admit that if we cannot teach everybody properly and show no intention to master this art, it will be more honest to set up schools for children with different abilities as is done all over the world, so that children can be trained for college by schoolteachers and not private lecturers.

I TEACH AT MARBURG, yes I do, it is not a slip of the tongue.

In fact I only made a short report in Marburg, but on a rather interesting subject.

Many years ago, in 1969, I wrote in *Komsomolskaya Pravda* that the name of Sukhomlinsky would soon be familiar to any cultured person. I was laughed at and ridiculed then, but years passed and Sukhomlinsky's works were published in mass circulations, and in Marburg German teachers Erika Gartmann, Richard Pippert, Renate Rausch, and Raissa Steinigk set up the International Sukhomlinsky Society. In October a four-day symposium on Education of Responsibility in Sukhomlinsky's Pedagogy was held at the university camping site, Riezlern, in the Alps...

The humanistic pedagogy of Sukhomlinsky is well known all over the world. In addition to Soviet speakers (among them Sukhomlinsky's daughter) and German speakers, the symposium was addressed by Bulgarian Luchan Milkov, Pole Marian Bubluk, Prof. Christos Frangos, director of the Salonika Education Centre, and assistant to the celebrated psychologist, Piaget – he brought a film about a Greek kindergarten based on Sukhomlinsky's ideas.

When will Sukhomslinsky's ideas take root in this country?

Simon Soloveichik

Krasnoyarsk prisoners threaten the Black Berets

Camp prisoners revolt

Oleg Vishnyakov

November 13 may be Soviet Zek Day

Wholesale unrest has been sweeping Russia's corrective labour camps and detention facilities. Inmates go on hunger strikes and refuse to work. Now and again warders are taken hostage. Moscow, Vladivostok, Grozny, and Krasnoyarsk along with Mordovia Bashkortostan, Udmurtia, and the Vladimir, Tambov, Chelyabinsk, Chita, Arkhangelsk and Tula regions make up a far from complete list of places where prisoners are rebelling.

The staff of the Russian Federation Interior Ministry Service for Corrective Affairs and Social Rehabilitation say the situation in the prisons and camps is critical. In the upshot of the October revolt in the Grozny detention facility two people died and many were injured.

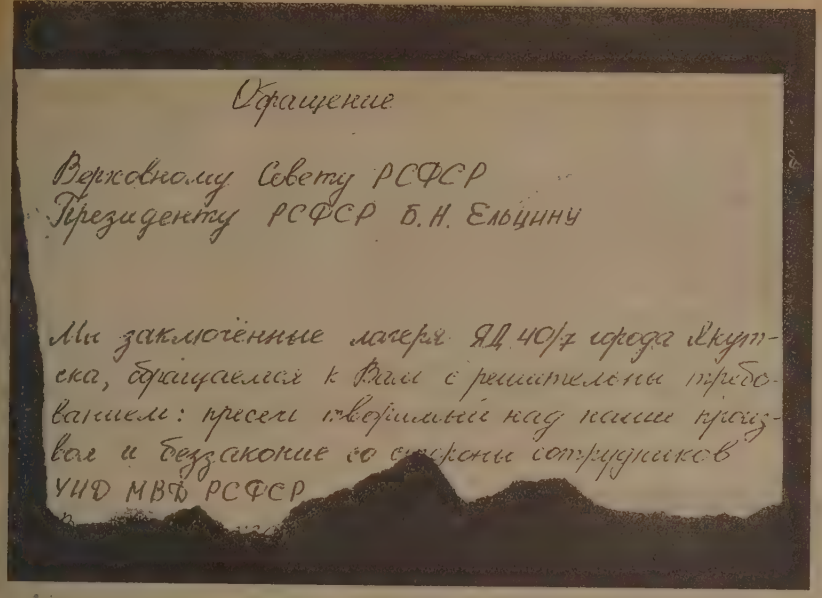
Some 600 prisoners set fire to the prison library, health centre, and warehouse, causing the guards to open fire. Still, some 30 prisoners escaped and have not yet been tracked down...

Though there has been talk since 1985 of humanizing the Soviet penitentiary system, to this day Russia's parliament has still not enacted the relevant legislation.

Zeks vs. club law

The consensus of opinion is that the currently operating Criminal Corrective Code is hopelessly obsolete. "The present system of corrective labour, Russia's last citadel of Stalinism, has no effective means for pacifically resolving disputes between prisoners and camp governors," says Valery Abramkin, head of the Public Centre for a More Humane Penitentiary System. Himself a former political prisoner, Abramkin warned long ago of the danger of unrest in the labour camps. In letters that his Centre has received, prisoners describe the prevalent club law and sincerely wonder: "Is it really true that nobody fears the revolts that we, Zeks, are simply incited to stage!"

One would be wrong, though, if one thought that the authorities were not reacting at all. However, the Russian Interior Ministry's appeal to the Russian cabinet to modify the relevant code got nowhere. Then the heads of the Corrective Affairs Service appealed to the Russian parliament's Human Rights Committee. Nevertheless, despite the time spent, the cooperation between these offices has also been abortive. The problem, I was



Обращение

Верховному Совету РСФСР
Президенту РСФСР Б.Н. Ельцину

Мы заключённые лагеря ЯД 40/7 города Якутска, обращаемся к Вам с решительным требованием: прекратить творимый над нами произвол и беззаконие со стороны сотрудников УИД МВД РСФСР

A collective appeal to Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin from 50 consumptive prisoners

told, is that the Supreme Soviet Presidium may not amend the Criminal Corrective Code, but may only table the issue for parliamentary discussion. However, considering the rather low level of performance of this body, which has enacted only 18 laws in the space of slightly over a year, evidently months will pass before anything is done.

Finally, in late October Andrei Dunaev, Russia's Minister of the Interior, agreed with Valentin Stepankov, the Russian Federation Prosecutor General, to go over the head of the Supreme Soviet and endorse the new Rules for corrective labour establishments inside the Russian Federation. From now on prisoners may let their hair grow, instead of having their heads shaved as before, may wear wrist-watches, may read religious literature, and may address governors and warders by name and patronymic, and not use the earlier epithet of "citizen chief." Bans have been lifted on all food parcels, with the exception of alcohol and perishables and prisoners may now posses more staples. Prisoners entitled to work without guards may now reside outside the prison camp zone. Other privileges have also been introduced. However, the overwhelming majority of Interior Ministry officials believe this is not enough. They think more drastic measures must be taken to defuse the tension in the camps and the prisons as soon as possible.

On October 12 the 660 inmates of the Kulevatovo township high-risk colony near Tambov declared a hunger strike and demanded an interview with L.Kudinova, a Russian Federation MP. After talks with representatives of the prisoners, the camp governors were obliged to satisfy 15 out of the 17 demands put forward. The two demands not met were of a political nature calling for a sweeping amnesty and the revision of operating legislation. The Russian parliament sent a special deputation to this colony.

The 50 percent "poll tax"

"The most effective means of combating transgressions in the prisons and camps," Yuri Kalinin, deputy chief of the Russian Federation Interior Ministry Service for Corrective Affairs and Social Rehabilitation, is convinced, "is to provide the inmates with economic incentives, implying normal working conditions and pay."

"The money prisoners earn should go only to the prisoners themselves and their families," Valery Abramkin echoes. "Otherwise, the 'party concerned' will always be tempted to incarcerate as many profitable workers as possible. Forced slave labour is out of the question. The Zek should have as much of an incentive as the free worker."

But a couple of years ago, due to the prison camps, the Russian Interior Ministry placed fourth if not third, in the republic's industrial output.

According to the Russian Federation cabinet's 1961 decision, half of everything the prisoner earns is automatically deducted to the state. Deductions are made from the other half for income tax, the cost of food and clothing, and even public utilities, with, the said deductions computed on the basis of the overall amount earned. So if a Zek earns 280 rubles, inclusive of compensation, he gets only 28 in hand, with the guaranteed minimum comprising but 10 per cent of his total earnings. Who will work for that kind of money? The people undergoing "treatment" in the special "abstinence detention centres," as well as minors in colonies for juvenile offenders are in similar straits.

In Germany, though, the state deducts only 30 per cent, including taxes, from the prisoner's earnings. The remainder is remit-

Valery Abramkin:

Sweeping amnesty

The Public Centre for a More Humane Penitentiary System proposes:

1. A sweeping amnesty, reducing terms for all prisoners without exception.

2. A programme of immediate aid, especially juridical, for prisoners, an analysis of the situation in the prisons and camps and the public airing of all violations of human rights.

The Centre believes that Russia's President must issue an address to the prisoners in its camps and promise immediate concrete action in order to examine the relevant problem.

The Centre exhorts all of Russia's prisoners, both present and past, and also the governors and warders of Russian prison colonies to conduct this November 13 a Peace Action in support of these proposals. Meanwhile, from November 14 to December 14 inclusive, prisoners should impose a moratorium on all acts of mass disobedience and suspend hunger and other strikes already initiated.

ted to his bank account, and over the years quite a goodly sum accumulates.

Yuri Kalinin believes the more sensible thing is to rescind the intolerable 50 per cent "poll tax," even though at first this would cost the Russian Treasury some 260 million rubles.

On the other hand, considering the current 50 percent deduction, the state cannot present the prisoner with the full bill for food and clothing or damaged property. Nor can it deduct alimonies, as otherwise the prisoner would not even receive the guaranteed 10 percent minimum.

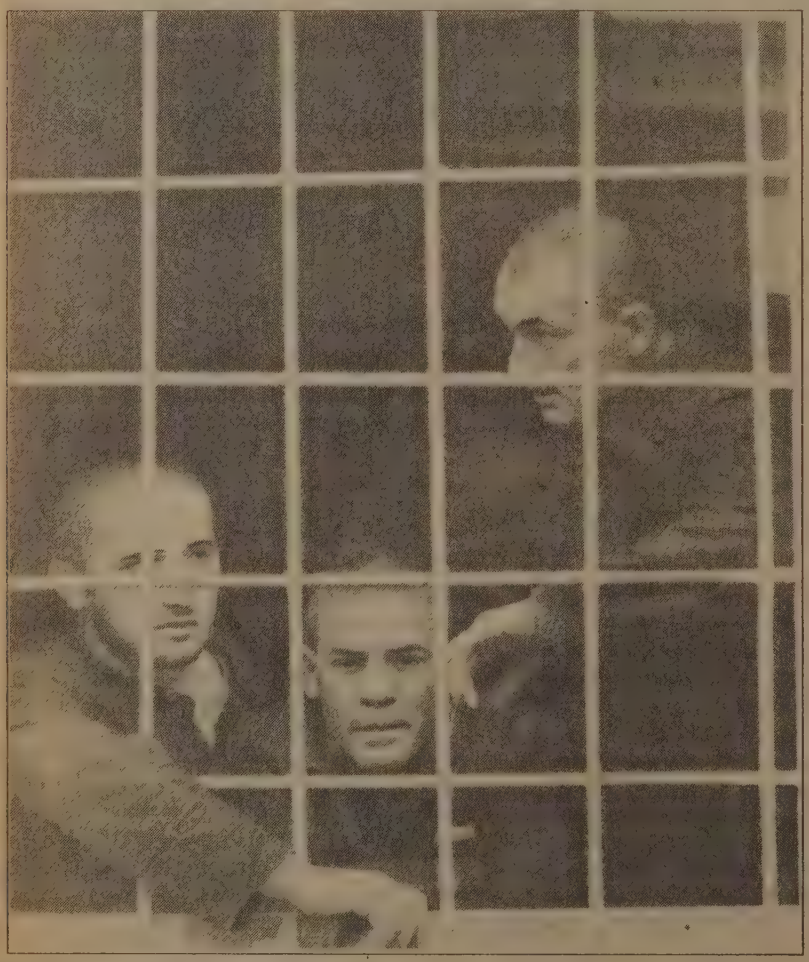
Having considered all the pros and cons, Interior Ministry economists conclude that abolition of the 50 percent "poll tax" would imply not 260 million, but 150 million rubles, which would go to the real earners.

Though in Russia at present that sum of money is not to be sneezed at, this decision would eventually carry not only a moral, but also an economic incentive. Experts believe performance level would rise in the camps and that the prisoner would hardly continue as before to frantically damage state property, as he would be aware that he would have to foot the bill. To date prison inmates have chalked up a "bad debt" totalling some 300 million rubles.

Economic incentives would also change the criminogenic situation in the prisons and camps. Faced with the current legacy from the Gulag past, the camps resemble a powder keg that the slightest spark could blow up.

On October 24 in the Krasnoyarsk prison colony, which is within the city limits, the inmates were subjected to the usual frisking with the result that three criminal bigwigs were dumped into isolation cells for possession of forbidden articles. A rebellion flared up. The prisoners took three warders hostage, and said they would exchange them, only if the isolated trio were released. The governors were obliged to meet this demand.

Service chiefs have suggested allowing the Russian Interior Ministry to deduct 5 per cent from prisoner earnings to an aid fund for the released prisoners which would serve as a kind of pension fund. Otherwise, experience show that most released prisoners soon find themselves behind bars again as it is hard to get work, while the 25-ruble "release bonus" suffices only for a couple of days.



On July 12 the 430 prisoners in the Novokuznetsk jail went on a hunger strike and presented a range of demands to the governors. More specifically they want:

– fans, fridges and TV sets in the cells;

– better health services, hygiene and general facilities;

– a broader range of items and tobacco in the prison shops;

– for warders and guards not to have or use rubber truncheons, tear gas, and straitjackets.

The current condition of the detention facilities is one more headache. Thus 40 to 50 detainees are often crammed into a cell, which is two or three times more than is allowed. As a rule, the jails are in century-old buildings where the state of sanitary hygiene is appalling. All this, even though the detainees are only **suspected** of one or another offence.

Again the matter is one of finance. The Interior Ministry holds the view that some 1,500 million rubles will be needed to reconstruct or build new detention facilities in the Russian Federation alone.

* * *

Many specialists are convinced that the penitentiary system should no longer be within the jurisdiction of the Interior Ministry. In most civilized countries, it is held that only an explicit line of demarcation between the punitive arm and the penitentiary service, in other words, between the police, the law courts and the prison administration, ensures the prisoner his proper rights. Thus, in the United States the Federal Bureau of Prisons, though *pro forma* under the Department of Justice, is in effect independent and may veto all Department decisions bearing upon its operation.

Whatever the case, a new law on the penitentiary system, plus a new Criminal Corrective Code and independence for the Corrective Affairs Service will not come overnight. Quite a few years will elapse before the conditions of detention and imprisonment in this country accord with the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners that were adopted in Geneva in 1957. The main thing now is to jerk the entire situation out of its present state of inertia.

Meanwhile camp prisoners are rebelling...

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Summer music festival in Portogruaro

In every truly civilized society respect for musicians, painters and creative endeavour generally is taken for granted. But in one country the very title of "maestro" betokens not only the calling, but also free artistic creativity. The country I mean is Italy, as throughout its entire history art has been life.

For nine years running now the old North Italian township of Portogruaro, which is but an hour's ride from Venice, has become a veritable Mecca for young musicians, who flock there to perfect their skill. The maestros themselves concurrently hold a festival of chamber music of a spectacularly high standard.

The festival as such was initiated by Russian musicians, notably the violinist Pavel Vernikov and the pianist Konstantin Bogino, who have spent the last ten years of their artistic careers giving recitals and music instruction throughout Europe. With the energetic backing of Paolo Pellarin, director of the Portogruaro Santa Cecilia Institute of Music, and the town Fathers, who had complete faith in the ambitious plans of the sponsors, the first festival exceeded all expectations. Hence by now the Portogruaro summer music festival is part and parcel not only of the town and the Veneto Region, but of all Italy for that matter.

This year some 350 music students flocked to Portogruaro not only from Italy, but also from Germany, Holland, the U.K., the U.S.A., Yugoslavia and elsewhere. No wonder the streets were packed with young folk holding music cases, while strains of music flowed not only from Collegio Marconi, where the main classes are held, but from all over, giving the impression that the entire town was one huge rehearsal scene.

There is one more curious sidelight, rather a salient feature of the Portogruaro festival. As artistic directors Pavel Vernikov and Konstantin Bogino invited such stars as, for instance, the viola players Vladimir Mendelssohn and Diemut Poppen, the flutist Patrick Gallois, the oboist Gordon Hunt, the clarinettist Antony Pay, the French horn player Ifor James and other

musicians, whose affiliation with the Russian school of music teaching and performance has made them objects of true pride. This was in a way a mini-congress of compatriots, involving such maestros as Tchaikovsky Competition laureates, the violinist Ilya Grubert and the cellist Karine Georgian, Prof. Zinaida Gilels, the list of whose pupils of world repute would fill several pages, the pianists Yegor Chugaev and Svetlana Bogino, and of course, the Tchaikovsky piano trio Pavel Vernikov, Anatoly Liberman and Konstantin Bogino. Today, though the list of Russian musicians is great and grand, they come not from Moscow, but from Paris, London, Amsterdam, Boston, Padua and Novi Sad.

Portogruaro mayor Gastone Rabbachin calls the Festival a mini-Russia, and I must say I was delighted to note the respect that the Russian maestros enjoy in hospitable Italy. I think the basic features of the Festival are the enthusiasm of the artistic fraternity which erases boundaries between generations, plus a fanatical dedication to art. I was able to attend many of the classes and rehearsals and I must say that the painstaking labours undertaken to perfect technique never override inspiration. No wonder, the classes, whatever the genre, developed into a competition among the talented youth, upon whom judgement was passed by three panels – professional musicians, patrons, and the audience itself. Their verdict spelled for the happy winners not only universal éclat, but also financial backing which is of such paramount importance at the beginning of any creative career.

Though the organizers and the professors were up to their ears in work, apparently Italy's warm southern sunshine and cerulean skies infused them with particular energy as they even had time for a soccer game between the "string instruments" and the "wind instruments," with patent-leather concert shoes exchanged for boots, as well as for debates on diverse subjects, let alone those related to the music world, and also for what one may call "jam sessions" that instantly bridged the gap between teacher and pupil.

The recitals bill elevated the festival to the nature of European highlight. Two concerts commemorating the late violinist Oleg Kagan were given by Svyatoslav Richter and Natalia Gutman. Richter, whose name is legend by now, performed Mozart and Beethoven in the town's medieval cathedral against the background of an ascetic crucifix. However no words can really convey what is felt when a true genius is at the keys. Meanwhile the Bach suites Natalia Gutman played in this same venue welled up into a scintillating display of her virtuoso technique.

Truth to tell, every recital and concert was inimitable. Thus the vio-

The Concert Hall in the central street

linist Ilya Grubert, accompanied by Leslie Howard on the piano, presented a brilliant rendering of the works of medieval Italian composers at the Town Hall which, incidentally, is the symbol of both Portogruaro and its festival. The exquisite taste and the self-dedication of this musician, whom I had not heard for quite a long time, revealed outstanding talent that will no doubt soar to still greater heights.

The earlier mentioned Tchaikovsky trio and the Vernikov-Bogino duet were given an ovation by the temperamental Italian audience. Generally speaking, these musicians, of whom two, as was said, are the Portogruaro Festival's artistic directors, were its moving spirits, whose immense enthusiasm, highly professional performance, communicability and inborn humour enabled them, despite the almost complete lack of sleep, to implement all their designs. Speaking not only Russian, but also Italian, French, English, and Croatian, they were constantly in the centre of events, tackling every problem with a well-nigh Italian temperament.

Their magnificent rendering of the Smetana Trio, the music of Ravel and the Dvorak Sonatina, as well as their participation in groups of diverse composition excellently demonstrated the fantastic standard of these "fathers" of the Portogruaro music festival.

Not for nothing did I mention their sense of humour. Their rendering of Saint Saens' "Animal Carnival" at the open-air Festa della musica concert, wherein only Anatoly Liberman's inspired interpretation of the celebrated "Swan" was in the nature of a lyrical intermezzo, with sound imitations arranged by Pavel Vernikov, evoked truly sidesplitting laughter. A similar response was accorded the marathon recital during one of the last days when Bogino, Vernikov and the French flutist Gallois gave a witty magic in terpretation of a musical pantomime.

However, before I wind up these notes, let us take a peep at backstage to imagine what the "daily grind" was like.

Though there were numerous problems and difficulties, especially of a financial character, Portogruaro wants to have its festival, as it is already a part of local life, as the mayor put it. Problems are tackled head on, with everyone taking part. Resources came from the Town Hall, the Commune, the region and also, though only a fraction, from the state. Along with the generosity shown by the sponsors, especially banks, plus private donations problems were solved and the festival thus amplified the cultural traditions of a town whose history is shrouded in the mists of time.

As I arrived in Portogruaro only a few days after the abortive August putsch my compatriots and other festival participants simply bombarded me with all sorts of questions about it.

The Festival programme slated among other events a conference devoted to modern Russian music and a special concert billing Prokofiev, Schnittke and Gubaidulina.

The Town Council specially invited Anver Starkov, the Cultural Counsellor of the Soviet Embassy, who was accorded a most gracious and amicable reception. Besides meeting the mayor he attended many of the concerts and was introduced to many of the musicians.

One event was a concert by the Young Violinists Ensemble that is composed of pupils from the Stolyarsky School of Music in Odessa, which Pavel Vernikov and Zinaida Gilels attended in their time.

I left Portogruaro early in the morning and as we drove through its streets, I was able to appreciate once again this medieval town's inimitable architecture, so reminiscent of stage scenery. As dawn broke, I watched two young musicians playing the French horn, by the millstones on the tiny quay, evidently rehearsing for the Festival's final concert. That scene has stayed with me along with the mental image of this Italian town where the strains of music always flow.

Evgeny Barankin,
music critic, Secretary, Russian Union of Composers
PORTOGRUARO–MOSCOW

FROM THE XXth CENTURY POLITICAL THOUGHT

Introduced by *New Times* analyst **Rostislav Zolotaryov**

In pre-perestroika times our periodicals with a "foreign orientation" used to cover the October anniversaries with selections of utterances by prominent cultural and political figures of the West. These were regular columns usually called "Friendly Voices." The 1917 Revolution jubilees were celebrated by publishing entire volumes of the corresponding quotations cited more often than not in abridged form. These publications included sufficiently well-known names – John Reed and Henri Barbusse, Romain Rolland and Bernard Shaw, Herbert George Wells and Lion Feuchtwanger, Louis Aragon and Theodore Dreiser. It's only today that we learn that their attitude to the "communist experiment" was far from serene and optimistic – even the attitude of those who sincerely believed in socialism. As for the entirely negative assessments of the USSR, buried for decades in "special depositories" – they were referred to as none other than "cheap attempts at falsification and slander."

However, the time has come to return the names. André Gide, André Malraux, Arthur Koestler, Henry Miller, and John Dos Passos are among those who have been ostracized in this country for various „unbecoming" judgments. George Orwell was, of course, among them, too. The author of the novel *1984*, the satire *Animal Farm* and memoirs *Homage to Catalonia* also wrote a great many pamphlets which made up four thick volumes of 600 to 700 pages each. Extracts from these books have already been published in this section of our magazine (See *NT* 32/91).

Although Orwell never visited the USSR, the "Soviet factor" played an important part in his speculations and political analysis. He closely watched the work of those sufficiently objective and honest writers and journalists who wrote about their "Russian impressions." Orwell believed that the unveiling of totalitarianism, whatever its form, as well as of the lie and the technique of brain-washing and overthrow of communist mythology could effectively promote the strengthening of democracy and freedom. The following fragments from his writings of the 1930s and 1940s, published in Russia for the first time, are a convincing confirmation of this idea...

Publication prepared by Boris Gilenson

Waiting for the Big Brother

George Orwell (1903–1950)

The terrifying thing about the modern dictatorships is that they are something entirely unprecedented. Their end cannot be foreseen. In the past every tyranny was sooner or later overthrown, or at least resisted, because of "human nature," which as a matter of course desired liberty. But we cannot be at all certain that "human nature" is constant. It may be just as possible to produce a breed of men who do not wish for liberty as to produce a breed of hornless cows. The Inquisition failed but then the Inquisition had not the resources of the modern state. The radio, press-censorship, standardized education and the secret police have altered everything. Mass-suggestion is a science of the last twenty years, and we do not yet know how successful it will be.

...It is noticeable that not all the shortcomings of the present Russian regime are attributable to Stalin's personal wickedness... They were inherent from the very start in the aims and nature of the Bolshevik Party. It is probably a good thing for Lenin's reputation that he died so early... The essential act is the rejection of democracy – that is, of the underlying values of democracy; once you have decided upon that, Stalin – or at any rate someone like Stalin – is already on the way...

...Meanwhile the truth about Stalin's regime, if we could only get hold of it, is of the first importance. Is it Socialism, or is it a peculiarly vicious form of state-capitalism?

...The Soviet system does not... seem to be very different from fascism. All real power is concentrated in the hands of two or three million people, the town proletariat, theoretically the heirs of the revolution, having been robbed even of the elementary right strike; more recently, by the introduction of the internal passport system, they have been reduced to a status resembling serfdom. The GPU are everywhere, everyone lives in constant terror of denunciation, freedom of speech and of the press are obliterated to an extent we can hardly imagine. There mare periodical waves of terror, sometimes the "liquidation" of kulaks or Nepmen, sometimes some monstrous state trial at which people who have been in prison for months or years are suddenly dragged forth to make incredible confessions, while their children publish articles in the newspapers saying "I repudiate my father as a Trotskyist serpent." Meanwhile the invisible Stalin is worshipped in terms that would have made Nero blush...

But it is worth being reminded that Russia was already being fairly rapidly modernized in the ten years or so preceding the Revolution. It is now, perhaps, beginning to be possible to see the Russian revolution in some kind of historical perspective, and the hitherto accepted version of a barbarous feudal country turning overnight into a sort of super-America is something that will probably have to be revised.

But is life – life for the ordinary person – any better in Russia than it was before? That is the thing that it seems almost impossible for an outsider to be certain about. Statistics, even when they are honestly presented (and how often does that happen nowadays?) are almost always misleading, because one never knows what factors they leave out of account... To give a crude illustration, it would be easy to show, by stating the figures for fuel-consumption and saying nothing about the temperature, that everyone in Central Africa is suffering from cold... As far as the material side of life goes, all that seems to emerge fairly certainly is this: that the standard of living was rising during the NEP period, dropped during the period 1928–33, and is now rising again but is still low by West European standards. This is denied by Soviet apologists, but not very convinc-

ingly. The average wage in 1936 was only 225 rubles a month – the purchasing-power of the ruble being about threepence. Moreover, it is well known that it is next door to impossible for a Soviet citizen, unless on some kind of official mission, to visit any foreign country – a silent admission that life is more comfortable elsewhere.

In 1930 the English Communist Party was a tiny, barely legal organization whose main activity was libelling the Labour Party. But by 1935 the face of Europe had changed, and left-wing politics changed with it. Hitler had risen to power and begun to rearm, the Russian five-year plans had succeeded, Russia had reappeared as a great military power. As Hitler's three targets of attack were, to all appearances, Great Britain, France and the USSR, the three countries were forced into a sort of uneasy rapprochement. This meant that the English or French Communist was obliged to become a good patriot and imperialist – that is, to defend the very things he had been attacking for the past fifteen years. The Comintern slogans suddenly faded from red to pink... And Winston Churchill was the blue-eyed boy of the *Daily Worker*. Since then, of course, there has been yet another change of "line." But what is important for my purpose is that it was during the "anti-Fascist" phase that the younger English writers gravitated towards Communism... It was obvious that laissez-faire capitalism was finished and that there had got to be some kind of reconstruction; in the world of 1935 it was hardly possible to remain politically indifferent. But why did these young men turn towards anything so alien as Russian Communism? Why should writers be attracted by a form of Socialism that makes mental honesty impossible? The explanation really lies in something that had already made itself felt before the slump and before Hitler: middle-class unemployment.

> Communism is the patriotism of the deracinated, of those who destroyed their own homeland and creed, it is a utopian substitute for history

Unemployment is not merely a matter of not having a job. Most people can get a job of sorts, even at the worst of times. The trouble was that by 1930 there was no activity, except perhaps scientific research, the arts and left-wing politics, that a thinking person could believe in. The debunking of Western civilization had reached its climax and "disillusionment" was immensely widespread. Who now could take it for granted to go through life in the ordinary middle class way, as a soldier, a clergyman, a stockbroker, an Indian Civil Servant or what not? And how many of the values by which our grandfathers lived could now be taken seriously? Patriotism, religion, the Empire, the family, the sanctity of marriage, the Old School tie, birth, breeding, honour, discipline – anyone of ordinary education could turn the whole lot of them inside out in three minutes. But what do you achieve, after all, by getting rid of such primal things as patriotism and religion? You have not necessarily got rid of the need for *something* to believe in. There had been a sort of false dawn a few years earlier when numbers of young intellectuals, including several quite gifted writers (Evelyn Waugh, Christopher Hollis and others), had fled into the Catholic Church. It is significant that these people went almost invariably to the Roman Church and not, for instance, to the C of E, the Greek Church or the Protestant sects. They went, that is, to the Church with a world-wide organization, the one with a rigid discipline, the one with power and prestige behind it...

The young writers of the thirties flocked into or towards the Communist Party. It was simply something to believe in. Here was a church, in an army, an orthodoxy, a discipline. Here was a Fatherland and – at any rate since 1935 or thereabouts – a Fuehrer. All the loyalties and superstitions that the intellect had seemingly banished could come rushing back under the thinnest of disguises. Patriotism, religion, empire, military glory – all in one word, Russia. Father, king, leader, hero, saviour – all in one word, Stalin. God – Stalin. The devil – Hitler. Heaven – Moscow. Hell – Berlin. All the gaps were filled up. So, after all, the "Communism" of the English intellectual is something explicable enough. It is patriotism of the deracinated.

But there is one thing that undoubtedly contributed to the cult of Russia among the English intelligentsia during these years, and that is the softness and security of life in England itself. With all its injustices, England is still the land of Habeas Corpus, and the overwhelming majority of English people have no experience of violence or illegality. If you have grown up in that sort of atmosphere it is not at all easy to imagine what a despotic regime is like. Nearly all the dominant writers of the 'thirties belonged to the soft-boiled emancipated middle class and were too young to have effective memories of the Great War. To people of that kind such things as purges, secret police, summary executions, imprisonment without trial, etc., etc., are too remote to be terrifying. They can swallow totalitarianism because they have no experience of anything except liberalism...

All the national movements everywhere, even those that originate in resistance to German domination, seem to take non-democratic forms, to group themselves round some superhuman fuehrer (Hitler, Stalin, Salazar, Franco, Gandhi, De Valera are all varying examples) and to adopt the theory that the end justifies the means. Everywhere the world movement seems to be in the direction of centralized economies which can be made to "work" in an economic sense but which are not democratically organized and which tend to establish a caste system. With this go the horrors of emotional nationalism and a tendency to disbelieve in the existence of objective truth because all the facts have to fit in with the words and prophecies of some infallible fuehrer. Already history has in a sense ceased to exist, i.e. there is no such thing as a history of our own times which could be universally accepted, and the exact sciences are endangered as soon as military necessity ceases to keep people up to the mark. Hitler can say that the Jews started the war, and if he survives that will become official history. He can't say that two and two are five, because for the purposes of, say, ballistics they have to make four. But if the sort of world that I am afraid of arrives, a world of two or three great superstates which are unable to conquer one another, two and two could become five if the fuehrer wished it...

If one simply proclaims that all is for the best and doesn't point to the sinister symptoms, one is merely helping to bring totalitarianism nearer...

"I have reduced my age by half and intend to live 200 years," asserts **Albert Ignatenko**, member of the psychologists society under the Presidium of the USSR Academy of Sciences and president of the Association of the Ukrainian clairvoyants and the International Centre of Psychoenergosuggestia.

The term psychoenergosuggestia was introduced by Ignatenko himself and means "the influence on man's psyche and bioenergy or, simply speaking, suggestion without the use of words." According to the president of clairvoyants, hypnosis is one of the most primitive forms of influence on psyche, the enslavement of consciousness. And the essence of his method is that man's consciousness is like observing from the outside what is taking place around him. Ignatenko claims that he is able to use telekinesis, clairvoyance and telepathy. He is convinced that the greatest number of clairvoyants could be found among children: "By the time we turn 18 we lose a lot of natural instincts. Our schooling kills all the qualities people are endowed with instead of developing them."

After training at the International Centre of Psychoenergosuggestia a person can increase his or her energy several times, assures Albert Ignatenko. "And if a person possesses a powerful bioenergy, his or her body is capable of independently neutralizing the harmful influence of the environment." Hence this can help one to protect himself from the effects of radiation — even in such areas as the Chernobyl nuclear power station.

At present the Centre is studying the problems of psychoenergosuggestia application in medical diagnostics, art and sports. No one can join the Centre without first being tested by Ignatenko for "spirituality." Where does Ignatenko get his knowledge?

"I get in touch with the Cosmos from where I receive information on the subconscious level..."

* * *

Let's talk again about the female bust, this time about that of **Bridgitte Nielsen**, a model, movie actress, sex star and ex-wife of Sylvester Stallone. Bridgitte's admirers may be in for a disappointment. According to the Hamburg

weekly *Der Spiegel*, her impressive virtues have been created by medicine, and not by nature.

Strictly speaking, this is nothing to write home about: in the United States each year about 120,000 women pump their breasts with silicone or, simply speaking, paraffin. The problem is that the undoubtedly magnificent shape can prove to be a serious discomfort for its owner.

The American Food and Drugs Administration has threatened the manufactures of the so-called "silicone pillows" with sanctions if they do not warn the unsuspecting customers about possible complications: stomach ulser, enlargement of lymphnodes and even cancer.

However, Bridgitte may not be facing all these perils. But *Der Spiegel*'s publication will no doubt be harmful to the actress who has not yet recovered after the recent scandal: Stallone's bodyguard has told the newspapers about his love affair with Bridgitte that served as a reason for divorce. Rambo's guard did not stop before revealing spicy details that *Der Spiegel* did not dare to impart to its readers.

* * *

The music by the composer-dissident **Van Cao** can again be heard in Vietnam. Suddenly they began to organize my music

The Siberian Bishop

The diocese of **Iosif Vert**, 39, stretches from the Urals to the Pacific Ocean. Not long ago Pope Paul VI appointed him administrator of Novosibirsk diocese for the Roman Catholics in the Asian part of Russia.

Iosif was born in Karaganda where in 1931 they exiled his parents from the autonomous republic of Germans in the Volga River area because they had a cow, hence were kulaks. In Kazakhstan the Verts managed to preserve the language and Catholic faith. The bishop says that he did not choose his profession: "I had a calling for this work. Christ called me to follow him."

Iosif studied for five years in the theological seminary of Kaunas. In 1984 he was ordained and sent to bring the word of God to people in Lithuania, Kazakhstan and the Volga River area. His motto is: "For God, the Church and souls."

Finally, the inscrutable ways of God led him to Novosibirsk. From now on the curia (or in the secular language — the headquarters) of the new bishop will be located in this city. Its Catholic House of God was destroyed in the 1960's. It was only eight years ago that the first Catholic priest appeared in this city who together with the commune began to build a chapel. Bishop Vert intends to build a cathedral in the city.

It is hard to tell now how big the new diocese will be. According to the bishop, today in Soviet Siberia there live many more Catholics than before the revolution. Under the Tsar the local Catholic communes were filled up by exiled German knights and insurgents from rebellious Poland. During the years of Soviet power they exiled there all and sundry, including people from the Volga River area and the South of Russia where before the war there were 179 priests and about 100 churches for 400,000 Catholics.

At least once every five years bishops have to come to the Vatican. Father Vert is also planning to go there with a concrete programme for his visit. Iosif Vert's diocese badly needs priests. Until they are trained in sufficient numbers at the domestic theological seminaries and academies, Father Vert wants to ask the Pope to send missionaries from Poland, Germany and Italy. The Church also needs financial aid for the restoration of Houses of God and the publication of religious literature.

nights and the press again publishes my verses, observes the 69-year-old Van Cao.

In his childhood Van Cao liked clasical European music and sang in a church choir. In 1944 he joined the national liberation struggle of the Vietnamese against the French colonial troops. He proved his adherence to the ideals of freedom, though, not only with a rifle in his hands... Van Cao wrote revolutionary songs. Once the leaders of the resistance asked him to write a song that could mobilize the guerrillas for a decisive battle against the aggressor. The composer performed the social order by writing the song "Forward March!" Ho Chi Minh liked it so much that soon it became the national anthem of socialist Vietnam. But in the 1950's the author of the anthem fell into disgrace.

In 1957, Van Cao organized and headed the movement of intellectuals that advocated humanism. They began to publish a magazine in which they criticized the land reform that was under way at that time. Like in the USSR, the reform in Vietnam resulted in the destruction of thousands of hard-working farmers.

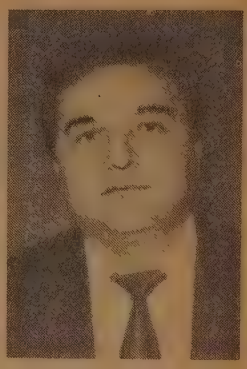
About 40 comrades of Van Cao – poets and writers – were arrested. He himself was not put behind bars (evidently they took into consideration his service for the revolution), but was barred from engaging in creative activity. "Thirty years without poetry was like thirty years in prison," says the composer.

Despite the persecutions to which he has been subjected by the communist regime, Van Cao has not changed his Marxist convictions and has never tried to leave the ranks of the Communist Party.

A. Pyasetskaya

* * *

The 45-year-old German, **Rolf Sauerbier**, public relations officer at Jacobs Suchard Service GmbH and the 33-year-old deputy marketing director of the newspaper *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, **Erik Galumov**, undertook to create a new type of Western aid to the Soviet Union. On the initiative of the German company that has been supported by *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, now in both the USSR and Germany the 20th of October will be celebrated as Family Day. Starting from that day, Jacobs Suchard in the FRG and *Komsomolskaya Pravda* in the USSR began to collect letters from Germans, who would like to give help to and make friends with a Soviet family, and by the Soviets, who would like to receive that help. This year, the programme of Family Day featured food parcels from the West to the East. The organizers expect some 10 to 15 million letters from both sides.



The firm Jacobs Suchard has already helped the Soviet Union on one occasion. It sent to the USSR five trucks with chocolate and coffee for Moscow orphanages. The shipment reached Moscow exactly during the days of the putsch and the operation nearly fell through. It was *Komsomolskaya Pravda* who came to the rescue then. During the same days in August there also emerged the idea to increase the scale of such help. The move was supported by Eduard Shevardnadze and Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

Three years ago Rolf Sauerbier thought of how to celebrate Family Day in Germany. Rolf himself has four children, before his employment by Jacobs Suchard he worked as a journalist.

Erik Galumov is known as the organizer and gales director of the Miss Press contest. He has been working for *Komsomolskaya Pravda* for about two years. Before that he was the deputy general director of a youth association in Chita and a member of a cooperative. Erik hopes that the Family Day project will be extended beyond the Soviet-German relations. The population of the Soviet Union is roughly equal to that of the European Community. So, perhaps families all over Europe will begin to feed us.

The awards for the beautiful eyes

According to connoisseurs, no one with the exception, perhaps, of Ava Gardner and Liz Taylor had such eyes as does the rising "star" of Italian cinema, **Margherita Buy**. "Her fragile beauty is married to a voice that reminds you of a string quartet," think the demanding critics.

In the last year this young actress received as many awards as some people get during their entire long career in the cinema. Margherita is the holder of the Silver Riband and the David (a replica of the statuette of David by Donatello that is awarded every year to the best actors in Italian cinema), and a year before that, at the prestigious San Sebastian Festival she was awarded the Silver Shell for playing the main role in Daniele Luchetti's *The Week of the Sphinx*.

Margherita was born and raised in Rome. The eldest of three sisters, at school the future actress was a mediocre student always ready to fight and a good basketball and tennis player. After graduating from high school, she entered the prestigeous Academy of Dramatic Art. Margherita made her film debut in 1986 with the producer Andrea Bazzini. Then she worked with Nino Bizzarri on the film *The Second Night* and with Daniele Luchetti on *It Will Happen Tomorrow* and *The Week of the Sphinx*. The last role she played was that of a young aristocrat in the film *The Station* directed by Sergio Rubini whom she married a year ago.

Wicked tongues accuse the actress of openly imitating the "American models": Jessica Lange and Debra Winger. Margherita does not try to conceal her love for American cinema that has already shown an interest in the young woman from Italy. The actress, though, is in no hurry to throw in her lot with Hollywood: as a true Italian she prefers home comfort to the life of constant journeys. Her favorite writer is Dostoevsky. Her favourite movie director are Bernando Bertolucci, Federico Fellini and Francis Coppola. And Sergio Rubini, naturally...

Play as Mummy says

Tennis stars' victories and defeats are reflections of their lives off the court

It's always stylish to play tennis. Even in the Soviet Union where the official sports authorities have never been favourably disposed towards it. Finally, even they understood that playing tennis was not only stylish, but also profitable. The international Kremlin Cup tournament is held in Moscow for the second year in a row, but it has not yet become prestigious enough in the tennis world to attract stars of the first magnitude, and the prize of $ 330,000, although impressive in this country, is quite modest by international standards. Moreover, tennis stars have enough tempting invitations without the Kremlin Cup.

The tennis calendar for this year includes 83 male and 64 female tournaments, team tournaments and the Grand Slam Cup introduced last year with a record-breaking prize of $ 6 million. Playing in the Grand Slam Cup does not influence the player's rating, but one appearance on the court fetches $ 50,000 – a sum sufficient to live on for a year.

Organizers do not limit the temptations to money alone to woo best players to tournaments. At the Pathmark Tennis Classic in the USA where Jennifer Capriati beat world champion Monica Sales there were special prizes for the shapeliest legs and most beautiful eyes. The first prize, a gold bracelet with diamonds and emeralds was awarded to Capriati, 15, and the other, a diamond bracelet, to Jessica Emmons.

Actually, some tennis stars can afford ignoring the easy money earned at open tournaments. Boris Becker from Germany, a three-time Wimbledon winner who has made a fortune on advertizing for various firms rather than on tennis prizes, has said recently: "Such fees corrupt the players. I am against them."

Boris was supported by Steffi Graf, from Germany, also a three-time Wimbledon champion, and also a very rich player. At the October tournament in Brighton where Graf was easily the only representative of the Tennis Top Ten (most other stars preferred to appear on money-making tournaments), she said: "Leading tennis players must support tournaments by their participation. Open tournaments are played for money which the stars do not actually need."

However, the tennis elite often prefers money. The money question has resulted recently in a kind of confrontation between the male and female tennis worlds. The matter is that at female tournaments prizes are half as much as those at male ones. At the Canada Cup, for instance, the prize for the male tournament is $ 1.2 million, while at the female one only $ 0.5 million. Women demand equal rights, but so far equality is only guaranteed them at the US Open.

Obviously, female and male tournaments are held separately, at different times and in different places in order to remove excessive tensions from the players' relations. The tennis world only comes together at the four largest tournaments known as Grand Slam Cup: championships of Australia, France, USA and Great Britain, and at the Lipton Cup.

The division of the male and female parts of the tennis world creates problems, too. According to Olga Morozova, one of the best players of the 1970s, at that time half of the female Top Ten preferred girls to boys. Not everybody was bold enough to advertise her privacy. Martina Navratilova was the only one who openly lived with Judy Nelson for eight years and then they openly parted. Billie Jean King also admitted once that she had had lesbian experiences.

The specificities of women's tennis start acting in childhood. Girls start travelling from tournament to tournament at the age of 13 to 14. They do not have either time or opportunity to meet boys. Besides, boys are playing in other cities. The tender age passes without any tenderness and, seeking a

The happy moments: Jimmy Connors (left), twice a Wimbledon winner

compensation, a girl switches her attention to the girls playing next to her...

Coaches are discussing this problem at numerous conferences but the only thing experts have been able to agree on is that parents must be informed about their daughters' choice.

In fact, half of the current female Top Ten including Monica Seles, Steffi Graf, Gabriela Sabatini and Jennifer Capriati always travel with their parents and are not allowed beyond parental control for a minute. Meetings with friends, personal attractions, favourite dishes and, of course, training make up a comprehensive process of education of the young stars. Naturally, this process must be thoroughly controlled.

Even at 21 the beautiful Gabriela Sabatini was not allowed to decide whom to invite to her birthday party. Some experts believe that infantilism is the reason why for many years Sabatini, despite her natural talent, was easy prey for Steffi Graf. Steffi beat Gabi 15 out of 18 times before last year's US Open. In 1990 however, Gabi got a new coach, Carlos Kirmayer, who invited the prominent US psychologist, Jimmy Loehr to help develop his trainee. Gabi started learning languages, developed an interest in music and began visiting museums – all this was soon reflected in the way she played. She won Grand Slam-US Open for the first time and then beat Steffi Graf five times in a row.

Monica Seles relaxing

Actually, Steffi was living through a bad time then. The once solid and happy German family of the Grafs was crumbling. The father of the family allowed himself to have an affair with a model and fell victim to sensations-thirsty journalists and blackmail: his mistress declared him the father of her baby. Blood tests disproved the model's claim and it was already her turn to pay tens of thousands of dollars as compensation for moral damage to Peter Graf. This story received wide press coverage and even made Steffi contemplate moving to America. Tennis was also seriously harmed.

Two families, the Seles and the Capriati, continue to be quite happy. However, when Monica refused to appear at Wimbledon in 1991 at the very last moment, it nearly caused a big scandal. Monica excused herself referring to a leg injury, which, however, did not prevent her from playing in demonstration tournaments with high prizes. Monica's brother, Zoltan, provided a strange explanation for his sister's decision: "We do not want her to improve on her game too much, otherwise she will be defeating all the rest and female tennis will become too boring." Several days later Capriati laid waste to Zoltan's fears when she beat Monica in two sets.

So far Capriati has not given any serious reason for her name's being scrutinized in the press, but one question makes journalists wonder. It is also a question of money. As a young star, Jennifer is under the trusteeship of the American Tennis Association, which makes her eligible for material assistance and free coaching. Tim Gullikson, Jennifer's coach for many years, is paid by the Association and Jennifer never shares her fees with him. Tim counters journalists' questions stating firmly that he will stay with Jennifer as long as she needs him and on unchanged terms. This answer made the Americans think about one more problem: why support the rich young professionals who can well afford to hire a coach?

Among male players the contradictions between the player, the parents and the coach involve fewer emotions. As for the problem of fathers and sons, it seems not to exist at all, because male players usually travel with girlfriends or wives. There are exceptions, however. For example, young Jimmy Connors was always accompanied by his mother who coached her son herself and frustrated his engagement to Chris Evert Lloyd whom Jimmy was madly in love with. "We are against the whole world" was the motto of mother and son. This arrogance of the young Yankee could not arouse the sympathy of tennis fans. Today, at the age of 39 Connors has the reputation of a good uncle and respectable father of a family, although in the early 1970s he was a small naughty boy. It is no coincidence that the scandal-monger Agassi is often compared to young Connors. In the case of Agassi the mother figure is represented by his brother Phil.

By the way, Agassi does not enjoy too much affection in the United States either. Teenagers are crazy about his behaviour and outfit, of course, but the rest of society sees him as a badly-educated juggler who has never won anything serious (meaning the Grand Slam) in his 21 years.

John McEnroe, three times a Wimbledon winner, has an entirely different reputation. His scandalous behaviour on the court is compensated for by his conferences which attract all accredited journalists. John seems to derive special satisfaction from meeting people and discussing things. His answers are always original, detailed and honest. On mutual agreement of the sides his meetings with the press last much longer than the regular ten minutes.

Recently, McEnroe, 33, confirmed his desire to quit big-time sports after the Barcelona Olympics. "I was the first tennis player of the world, he explained. To continue playing, I need to beat today's first, the role of second best is not for me." Unlike him, Jimmy Connors intends to play as long as he feels like playing. He seems to be planning to break all the records of longevity in tennis.

Natalia Bykanova

Photos from Stern and Quick magazines and from the newspaper Süddeutsche Zeitung (Germany)

The Bolshevik war on the laws of nature

"Does the sun obey their decrees, too?" Solzhenitsyn's Ivan Denisovich wondered wistfully as he pondered over the power wielded by the camp's administration. It sure does!

On October 23, the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation decreed that the nation should return to the old "decree time" introduced by the USSR Council of People's Commissars on June 16, 1930, and cancelled last spring.

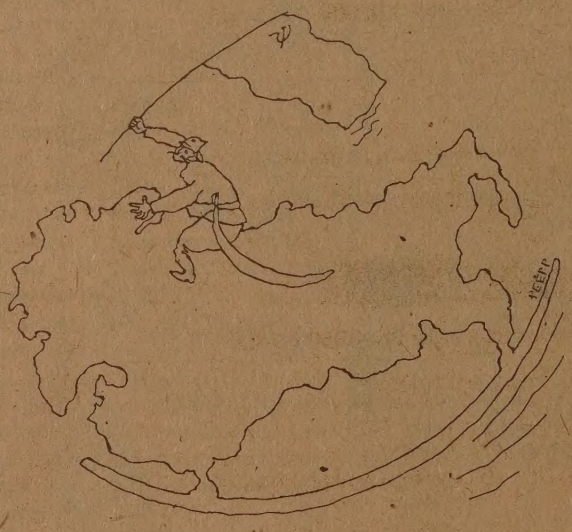
The decree ruled that all of us should put our clocks forward one hour so as to make the most of daylight, the idea being to save electricity.

The present return to decree time, also effected by decree without consulting the people, comes as the result of a request of the Energy Ministry which has spent more energy since early this autumn than it did over the corresponding period last year. There is no denying the fact that fuel should be used sparingly, and our MPs are quite right about that; however, they didn't bother to think of ways to save energy without declaring the traditional Bolshevik war on the laws of nature.

It is not only we who have to save fuel, especially after the oil crisis. In civilized countries everyone pays for its overexpenditure and, therefore, no one wastes it. People rise, start work and go to bed earlier than we do, and thus people stick to the "early to bed and early to rise" principle of their own free will, not in compliance with instructions from above, and make the most of matinal daylight. As to our Supreme Soviet, it still goes by the authorities' sacred right to do as they please instead of reforming our wasteful economy and making everyone interested in saving fuel.

Astrologers and wizards are very much in vogue today. Scientists are trying to talk the Academy of Sciences (of all the learned institutions!) out of encouraging shamanism and non-optic reading (see, for instance, the article by Mikhail Volkenshtein, Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, on the subject in a recent issue of *Literaturnaya Gazeta*). They fail in that because our social system cannot, by its very nature, accept the objective laws of nature and society and objective facts.

It was not accidental that "decree time" was endorsed right after the "great turning point," after the assertion of Stalin's omnipotence; and it was not accidental that it was followed by a decreed affirmation of the great discoveries by Trofim Lysenko, elected to the Academy of Sciences and, later, by Olga Lepeshinskaya and Boshyan, who have sunk into oblivion by now. I still remember the activists of Moscow University's Department of Physics demanding that the Party should expose, as it had Mendel and Morgan, the pseudo-scientists like Einstein and Planck. However, Stalin himself drew the line at that – the country needed nuclear weapons badly, but the Department of Physics progressive scientists couldn't fill that need. What's more, had they had their way, they would have landed physics where they landed biology.



Drawing by Peep Pedmanson

In the sphere of political economy, discussions centred on whether the law of value – i.e., commodity exchange based on equivalent outlays of socially-necessary labour – has any, even if limited, "transformed" and state-controlled role to play under socialism or whether it has no role at all. The idea of the law of value operating independently of the Party and the Government, and to the full extent into the bargain, seemed absurd. As a result, our chronically non-equivalent outlays have landed us in the present mess, but we still persist in turning a blind eye to the dictates of modern science and plain common sense. Instead, we pin our hopes on wizards, astrologers, and people like Zhirinovsky.

One can understand the confusion of our citizens who still have no idea of how our economy is run. One can even understand the Academy of Sciences which ought to be the first to stand up for objective truths. It has gone too far astray, and now it is difficult to turn a ministry of science into a scientific society independent of the state. However, one cannot understand members of parliament who call themselves democrats but act in such a way.

Shchedrin portrayed a town mayor who declared: "We shall change that law," and another one who burned down a school and abolished sciences. Those glorious predecessors of ours lived before the scientific and technological revolution, mind you. And now our authorities, by impressing on the public their capacity to change revise, or amend any law of nature (otherwise they wouldn't have been authorities worthy of the name!) lose much more in terms of their reputation than it saves in terms of fuel.

We have to use fuel sparingly, all right. So the Supreme Soviet should have called on us to get up and on the enterprises and institutions – to open an hour earlier than usual.

It is impermissible, even for the sake of saving fuel, to mess up the international time chart by pretending that the sun rises here three, not two, hours earlier than it does in London. Incidentally, this pushes London farther from Moscow and Petersburg although it is much closer to these cities than Omsk, let alone Kolyma. These and other obvious things ought to be taken for granted rather than turned topsy turvy be decrees if we really want to make any improvements in our life. We must reckon with time in general – and with modern times, in particular.

Poel Karp
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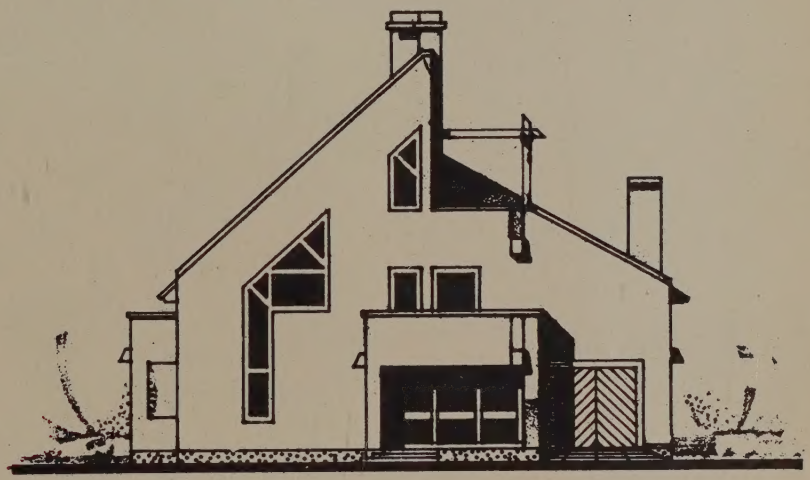

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